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METROPOLITAN
SPECIAL COLLECTION

Anne, Countess of Sunderland.

London, Published by Henry Colburn, 13 Marlborough St.

DIARY OF THE TIMES

OF

CHARLES THE SECOND

BY THE

HONOURABLE HENRY SIDNEY,

(AFTERWARDS EARL OF ROMNEY)

INCLUDING HIS CORRESPONDENCE

WITH

THE COUNTESS OF SUNDERLAND,

AND OTHER DISTINGUISHED PERSONS AT THE ENGLISH COURT;

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,

LETTERS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE TIMES OF JAMES II. AND WILLIAM III.

EDITED, WITH NOTES, BY

R. W. BLENCOWE, ESQ. A.M.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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DIARY AND CORRESPONDENCE

OF THE

TIMES OF CHARLES THE SECOND.

1680. March 15th. Sir Robert Southwell came to take his leave of me, and told me the Pensioner had been with him, and told him they hoped they should come to an accommodation; that Monsieur Spaen would go to Berlin in a few days, and do his endeavours; that they were willing to give him as much as he could pretend was due before the declaration, and something more; that he was of opinion nothing should be said of it till he saw how the English business was like to go. The French Ambassador came to see me, and in the evening Monsieur Werkendam and Monsieur Mums[1] came to me by

[1] He was telling me, that one day in the Assembly the Prince took occasion to tell them, that if they could be ever such fools

order of the States-General; and after making me a little compliment upon my indisposition, they told me they were come in the name of the States-General to assure the King of their friendship, and they would never do any thing contrary to what they professed in their resolution; and then they gave it me in writing. I told them I received it with great satisfaction, and that I could assure them that my master did endeavour nothing so much as to give them fresh marks every day of his friendship and good-will towards them. At night I was with the Prince, and I told him what had passed to-day, and showed him my letter out of Spain.

16th. Count Waldeck[1] was with me; he seems to be mightily in the interest of the Prince, and

as to offer him the sovereignty, and he such a fool as to accept it, he was very sure they were all undone.—*Orig. Note.* A great rogue, the Prince saith.—*Orig. Note.*

[1] "Prince Waldeck was their (the States) Chief General, a man of a great compass and a true judgment, equally able in the Cabinet and the Camp; but he was always unsuccessful, because he was never furnished according to the schemes that he had laid down. The opinion that armies had of him, as an unfortunate general, made him really so; for soldiers cannot have much heart, when they have not an entire confidence in him that has the chief command."—Burnet's *Hist.* i. 569.

horribly unsatisfied with the French. He told some of them that he was glad he was so considerable as to have the King of France give positive orders to do him harm: he thinks we may succeed with the Princes of Brunswick; but that with the Elector of Brandenburgh there is nothing to be done without money. He would have fallen upon this state if the King of France would have given him anything. He and several others are of opinion that it is good to be of the strongest side; he saith that the Bishop of Munster is certainly in with France.

17th. Monsieur de Fuen-Mayor was with me: he complains mightily of the French proceedings in Flanders, and wonders we and this State do take no notice of it, and that we do not think of doing something for the defence of Italy. In the afternoon I played with Madame Bentem, and supt with the Prince, and afterwards was at his couchée.

18th. I took physic. Colonel Fitz Patrick staid with me great part of the afternoon; we talked much of the Princess's illness, and her not being likely to live.

19th. They brought me word that the Princess had had a very ill night, and was worse than she had been. In the afternoon I heard that my Lord

Bodmin was come; soon after he came to me, but was in great haste. He told me very little of his business; he was resolved to see the Prince to-night. Monsieur Straatman and Monsieur Campricht were with me: they told me that the Emperor was very willing to take measures with the King. I writ to Mr. Godolphin.

20th. My Lord Bodmine was with me; he told me that he had delivered the project to the Prince, and read part of his instructions. Mr. Rookwood was with me; he asked me if we were desirous to enter into a stricter Alliance with this state, and if I thought the Prince had a mind to it. I told him there was no doubt to be made of it. Saith he, I believe Mr. Freeman might contribute a good deal towards it, as he will tell you, if you send to speak with him.

21st. My Lord Bodmine was with me, and I gave him a whole detail of our proceeding, which, I think, he minded very little: he gave me his instructions, and fancies he did well not to show them to the Prince. An officer was with me that is newly come out of Italy; he tells me that there are great fears of the French in Italy, but no preparations against them.

22nd. Mr. Freeman was with me; he told me of a project of his to have an alliance made between England and the States, and to have it confirmed by act of Parliament, and in this country by the whole States-General in the great Hall: he will undertake to dispose the chief of Parliament men to it. The King must not only consent to it, but desire it in a speech, and tell them that it is in consideration of the public good, and safety of Europe, and the Protestant religion; if the Duke falls into it, it may be of great advantage to him. We cannot think of any body who hath reason to be against it but the Duchess of Portsmouth. It will be the best thing in the world for the King, and a great blow to France. It must be kept very private, for, if it once get air, it will be all spoiled. He will propose it to the King, and argue it so that he thinks he will not refuse it.

23d. My Lord Bodmine came to take his leave of me. He told me that he had been with the Prince, and that he approved of the project, and wished him good success. He asked him if he had not orders to concert affairs with their minister. He said, Yes, though there is no such thing in my instructions; but I did believe it was forgot. This day

the Prince had cherries at his table; and, people wondering at it, he said he had some a fortnight before.

MR. HYDE TO MR. SIDNEY.

March 16.

When my Lord Sunderland and Mr. Godolphin are both out of town, I hope you will not be angry to hear a word from me, which is only to tell you that every body else is gone; and that I only, who have the reputation of a lazy and an idle man, to love London exceedingly, and to hate to take pains, am left here.

I have no business to trouble you with, nor no news to entertain you with, but that Sir Gabriel Sylvius will go hence next Friday, and, I hope, will succeed in his errand, as I wish Sir Robert Southwell may do, that they both follow your steps, who have had the skill and the good fortune to do more honour to yourself and your master than any Englishman abroad these many years.

Every thing here continues in the best disposition that can be; and, if we can make good alliances abroad, every thing at home will do very well. The

King intends to make a long stay at Newmarket, and all that while my Lord Sunderland will enjoy himself at Althorpe. The Duke, they say, will be here on Saturday or Monday, only to see the Duchess, and returns again.

The night before my Lord Sunderland went away, we were together with Monsieur Van Lewin, and pressed him very much that his masters should pass their resolution in the States-General concerning the French alliance. He excused it all he could, and said they were not in a condition to do things of éclat, and that the substantial part was done by their Ambassadors at Paris. We told them that there could be no danger to them by doing what we desired, since that which he called the substantial part, which had been done at Paris, was that which would anger the French King. And this form of passing their resolution could not provoke him more; but it would give a more general satisfaction to us here, and especially amongst the people, who otherwise would think that there wanted still something between the States and us to make us sure of one another. The Ambassador said that he would write to his masters to this purpose, being convinced, as he owned, that it would be useful to

us here. You will find whether he hath or not, and what the effects will be. I did not think to have troubled you so long, and ought to ask you the more pardon for it, because I doubt I have said nothing to you but what you know already.

I am, with great truth and respect, yours,

L. HYDE.

25th. Monsieur Belmonde was with me. He told me there was more money at Amsterdam now than ever, that one might have it at 5 per cent., and 14 months to the year; actions fixed at 26, obligations at 104. Monsieur Spaen was with me to take his leave; he promises to be absolutely in our interest, and thinks it much the best that his master can take.

26th. Sir Gabriel Sylvius came to me early in the morning. He seems to be mightily pleased with our affairs, especially with my friends, and I believe he will do them good offices to the Prince. He told me of the Duke's intrigue; he is mightily the Duke's creature, and commends the Duchess. I writ to my Lord Sunderland, Sir Lionel Jenkins, and Sir Robert Southwell to Berlin.

In the afternoon Monsieur Borcel and Monsieur Monro came to see me; he pretends to have been of the Princess's party. Monsieur Waldeck sent me a compliment.

28th. Sir Gabriel was with me. He told me that he had spoken with the Prince about the States sending one to the Dukes of Brunswick to go on jointly with us. He said he thought it could not be, and referred him to the Pensioner, who told him there was no thought of their altering or renewing any treaty as long as Friezland was so cross; that they had a treaty which would serve, and having sent so lately they could not send again; but they were sorry they did not order the Count Flodorp to stay longer. The Pensioner likes the project. Sir Gabriel wonders that the Prince hath not yet spoken to him; he is unsatisfied, and saith that every body else is. He was yesterday with the Count de Waldeck, who is not pleased, but makes great professions to England; he complains a little that our ministers would have corrupted his wife by Wichefort. The Prince was to see him to-day; he advises him to give up Masseick and Hasselt in time, or else he will be fain to do it by force. We were saying that we believed if there was

never so advantageous an alliance offered by England, that Friezland would oppose it; and we fear that at some time they may give themselves wholly up to France. Sir Gabriel tells me that he hopes to find the house of Brunswick well disposed, though the Duke of Cell should not. There is some disagreement, because the Duke of Wolfenbüttel did not marry his daughter, who is now to be married to the Prince of East Friezland. He is to offer him ships, which will be of use, as he has a considerable port, Harborg. Mr. Bracey came to me in the morning, and told me the whole story of John de Witt and Cornelius de Witt, of his having been put to torture for being accused of having a design to murder the Prince. His brother came to the prison to fetch him out, and there he was pulled in pieces.

29th. Mr. Freeman staid with me till night, and talked again of our project. He thinks it will be well for him to be in England at the meeting of Parliament, for he may have an opportunity of seeing some that will be hard to be found afterwards. He does not doubt that we shall compass the business if we can keep our own counsel. He told me a long story of the services he had done to the Prince, and how ill he was requited.

30th. Monsieur Bentem came to see me; he told me that Monsieur Waldeck had a better opinion of the last Bishop of Munster than he hath of this, for he was to be trusted, and this is not.

THE DOWAGER COUNTESS OF SUNDERLAND TO MR. SIDNEY.

March 22nd.

Some of your intelligence, I believe, will tell of a report as much believed as ever I did know any lie, as that I dare say is, that my Lord Sunderland is either in disgrace or dissatisfied, but no longer secretary. I had heard so particularly the story, and not only what came out of the coffee-houses, but in every chamber in the town, and amongst those who are left in Whitehall 'tis as much as any where; and all say 'tis for some difference between him and my Lord Lauderdale, which, for the present, recommends him very much to the town; but their kindness upon the account of his disgrace at court will not last, I hope.

After our wedding at Holland, I had a letter from Mr. Mountague that made me fear that Mr. Pierpoint was not liked; but he is, I doubt, a little

malicious, for Tom Pelham has been with me since: he says, for our niece, she is, he thinks, as well pleased as he has seen any body. My sister is very well satisfied as to the fortune and the probability of her living well, but she loves more compliments and mirth than she will ever find. I prepared her, as well as I could, not to expect it. He is not a pleasant man—very few are; neither is he the very next sort for entertainment. One thing pleased: when he said, "With all my worldly goods I thee endow," he put a purse upon the book with 200 guineas; every body puts somewhat, but this is the most I have heard. They will be here before Easter, and then you shall hear more.

Mr. Mountague goes no more to Madame Mazarine; the town says he is forbid; whether his love or his politics were too pressing, I know not. I hear he has lately endeavoured to make his peace at court; but it will not be, and he is reduced to spend much of his time at my Lady Oxford's. Perhaps you will think I express it ill, but no matter for that. The Duchess of Modena may be come, but I do not know it; I do know that nobody will go to her nor to the Duchess when she is with her.

I heard last night the council had sat twice yesterday about information given of a design the apprentices had to rise, and that some were got together, but all is very quiet; and my intelligence must ever be late, for I write in the morning, and I see nobody but in the afternoon. My Lord Shaftesbury says, he never had anything to do with Mr. Montague, nor never will. His son has not much to do, for he is every night in Hyde Park, with his wife, and two dirty men at the other end of the coach. My Lady Lauderdale, who was ill of the gout at Whitehall, was on Sunday sent for to Ham in great haste to her Lord, who was fallen into a fit of an apoplexy. If he dies, that will be a loss to Scotland and England.

I am yours very affectionately,

D. S.

SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE TO MR. SIDNEY.

March 23rd.

I have had two letters from you since my coming hither, which was about a fortnight ago; but nothing in them that may not be answered from this place, which I am very constant to, and like to be in such weather as I meet here. I wish you

in it for your own sake, if your health be so ill as you make me apprehend, though you tell me nothing particular besides what you said a good while since of your eyes. 'Tis too much to know you are in the physician's hands, and in an air that it seems does not use you so well as I could wish, but you will be revived by the spring, which is nowhere more beautiful than at the Hague for the two next months, and till about the middle of June; by that time, I fancy 'tis possible the Prince may be content you should come over, if you desire it, and the world continue likely to be quiet, at least on this side. For my part, I know not how it goes, having not so much as read a gazette since I came down, and finding (in this sense, as well as in the common one,) a kind of sweetness in being in the dark, when one is at ease.

Whenever you come over, and your business with your brother is ended, which I reckon upon, I shall be pressing you to marry, because I think it will be the best for the rest of your life; and, having made some enquiries against my son's coming over, I shall tell you of some I have heard of, who may be in your reach, though they may

not be in his, while I live and spoil his fortunes; and I shall take the same pleasure in bringing about such an affair for you as for him, though that be all I have at this time at heart, and shall be mightily pleased to see you both in a way of passing long and easy lives together when I am gone, and as good friends as you and I have always been. I have thoughts of making a journey to the Baths this spring; designing not so much (between you and I) the physick of it, as the entertainment of seeing that part of the West, though I will make the other the pretence, and so may possibly go before the season and spend about three weeks in that adventure.

You will be glad to know that your friend my L. S. and I have been of late upon the best terms that can be, so he has been pressing me to the old business ever since the other has been declared, and says it will be always at my mercy; but I continue fixed to charge myself with no public employment at home. Whether I shall ever do it any more abroad or no, I cannot tell, for I have been mightily pressed upon thoughts of one of late,[1]

[1] "During these discussions, Temple was upon friendly terms with Sunderland and Hyde. When, one day, as he was upon

which I have said I will not absolutely refuse; but I will be three months older too before I answer whether I will undertake it or no; and, by the grace of God, intend to pass this summer at Sheen till towards the end of August, if I live. Before that time I hope to see you here, and talk over the rest together. If your eyes are ill, this is a long letter. Pray, when you write, say one word of the Prince and Princess's health, just what you find them both; for you know I am much concerned in

his favourite topic of an intended journey to Florence, the ministers proposed that, if he had a mind to a hot country, he should go into Spain as the King's Ambassador, he demurred at the pecuniary losses which experience gave him reason to expect, and wondered what an ambassador could have to do in Spain. He found that it was again intended to cajole the Parliament as to foreign affairs, by making new alliances against France, with Spain, Denmark, and the other former confederates; and Temple's name was to give an appearance of sincerity to this specious procedure."

"Temple had seen too much to expect this good effect upon Parliament; but he undertook, if the King would make his alliance with the Spanish Ambassador in London, he would go over and cultivate in Spain. He was accordingly nominated Ambassador Extraordinary at Madrid; he received his equipage, and was prepared for his departure in September, 1680, when the King desired him to remain for the meeting of Parliament." — Courtenay's *Life of Temple*, ii. 61.

them, and hear very different reports, especially of the last. Forget not your own, and reckon upon me as always most affectionately yours,

W. TEMPLE.

MR. GILBERT SPENCER TO MR. SIDNEY.

March 23rd, —79.

Most Honoured Sir,

I have received two letters you were pleased to write to me the 26th, and will take care of the punctual payment, according to your commands. I wish you could be pleased to have money paid here first; for it is your loss to take it there.

The business with my Lord Leycester is come to nothing as to the reference, for he would never be bound, and so has played fast and loose to try which he would bring us to; but he has gained no ground, though we have lost a little time. There was no avoiding your accepting the reference, for it would have been hard on you if you had refused it. Yesterday, being the day of our meeting, Mr. Baker declared from my Lord, that my Lord would not stand to any reference; but if Sir Wil-

liam Jones, as a mediator, could bring parties to agree upon demands, he was content to let it go on. Sir William Jones thinks himself abused, and declared, he did not wonder my Lord would not believe him, for he would trust nobody. I know, says he, he is in fear, and perhaps of Mr. Keck as well as me. Sir Francis Pemberton and Mr. Keck did not meet as was intended. I am heartily sorry our hopes of peace in the family are thus blasted; but, sir, as to your business upon the whole matter, I make no doubt but my Lord Chancellor will do more for you than you would have taken for quietness sake.

I am glad my old acquaintance, Sir Francis Pemberton, is come so fortunately from the Bench to the Bar, where I am sure he will do you all the service he can. I reckon it a great Providence.

Here is a great noise of the apprentices. All that I find as truth is, that many of them have been listed under colour to burn the old Rump; twelve of them were carried to the Gatehouse; they do not yet discover who put them on this project. The great expences of the trial and charge of the jury made me low in cash; however, I have taken

care of the payment of £300, so soon as your bill comes. I trouble your Honour with no more at present, but that I am,

Your most obedient
and faithful servant,
GILBERT SPENCER.

31st. Monsieur Campricht was with me. He told me he had received a letter from Monsieur Straatman that said, the Emperor wondered the King of England's Minister had not given in some memorials to let the Emperor know his Master's good intentions—that Mr. Skelton was sent at a time when every body knew that the King had good inclinations to France—that his way of living with Monsieur Vitry makes them still jealous and suspicious, that it is not changed; therefore, he thinks if the King would send new credentials to Monsieur Skelton, and instructions to let the Emperor know his good intentions, the Emperor would send immediately into England. Dr. Ken was with me. I find he is horribly unsatisfied with the Prince, and thinks that he is not kind to his wife; he resolved to speak with him, though

he kicks him out of doors.[1] Sir Gabriel Sylvius came to my chamber; he seems a good deal concerned at the business of Maseick and Hasselt.

April 1st. I writ to Monsieur Campricht to tell him that somebody was expected from the Emperor

[1] With all his great qualities, the Prince of Orange was a very indifferent husband, and, according to Dr. Lake, who has been before referred to, he proved so in very early days after his marriage. "November 16th, the wind being easterly, their Highnesses were still detained at St. James's." This day the Court began to whisper the Prince's sullenesse or clownishnesse; that he took no notice of his Princesse at the playe and balle, nor came to see her at St. James's the day preceding this designed for his departure." And it would seem that the Princess left her native country with a heavy heart. "November 19th: This morning, about nine o'clock, the wind being westerly, their Highnesses, accompanied with his Majesty and Royal Highnesse, took barges at Whitehall, with several other persons of quality. The Princesse wept grievously all the morning. She requested the Duchesse of Monmouth to come often to her sister, to accompany her to chapple the first time she was to appear there, and to think often on her. She left also two letters to be delivered to her sister as soon as she was recovered. The Queen, observing her Highnesse to weep as she tooke leave of her Majesty, would have comforted her with the consideration of her own condition when she came into England, and had never till then seen the King, to whom her Highnesse presently replied: 'But, Madam, you came into England, and I am going out of England.' "—*Manuscript Journal of Dr. Lake.*

at the time that powers were sent to Monsieur Bourgamenero.

2nd. Monsieur Campricht was with me to desire three things. First: that the King should send a letter of credence to Mr. Skelton, whereby the King's good intentions might be known; then, that he should throw some light upon what footing they should treat, whether they should make such an alliance as is between England and Holland, or such an one as is between the Empire and Holland. The third is: that the King should give order to Mr. Saville to let the King of France know that he shall be as much concerned if he attacks Strasburg as if it were his own dominions.

3rd. I was so ill I could see nobody, but Mr. Rookwood, with whom I had some conversation about Mr. Freeman's project.

4th. Monsieur Waldeck came to take his leave.

6th. I could not write to my Lord Sunderland, but wrote to Mr. Plot.

8th. I sent letters to the Prince from my Lord Sunderland and Mr. Hyde.

MR. MOUNTSTEVENS TO MR. SIDNEY.

Whitehall, April 2nd, 1680.

Honoured Sir,

We have much talk here of an Irish Popish plot, which is all I can say at present of it, and I suppose all you are like to hear of it by this post from any body else, since the examinations relating to it have been heard before the privy council only, every member whereof is obliged to secresy as such. I am told that Sir William Waller was this morning to wait upon my Lord of Ossory, both in behalf of my Lord Shaftesbury and himself, to assure his Lordship that neither of them had said any thing that might any ways reflect upon them as being concerned in the Irish Popish plot so much talked of; they were both sorry the town should name them as the authors of so scandalous a report.

Mrs. Wall is become your fellow-servant, being sworn yesterday into the place of laundress to the King in the room of Mrs. Chiffinch, who died last Wednesday, the day the Court returned from Newmarket, but does not intend to quit her Duchess.[1] If you think fit to compliment her upon

[1] The Duchess of Portsmouth, whose confidential servant she was.

this preferment yourself, or to commission me to do it for you, let me know by the next, and I shall punctually observe your commands in this and all other matters to the best of my power, as being, with all possible respect,

Sir,

Your most faithful and most humble servant,

J. M.

MR. HARBORD TO MR. SIDNEY.

Sir,

I received yesterday yours of the 28th of the last month, and give you all the thanks imaginable for the account you give me of that part of the world. I shall ever pray and endeavour to support that people as a brave nation, who have, under the conduct of a worthy, young, but prudent Prince, defended themselves to admiration, and, considering all the true circumstances and difficulties which he and they met with, I think the courage and prudence they showed in this last attack from England and France was at least equal, if not superior, to the great and undaunted constancy by which they both gained their liberties and preserved their religion against Spain and the Inquisition, the latter

of which to me is more terrible than all the extremities of war. Priests and women never think themselves safe till men be dead, and that nothing can kill them but cruel and barbarous means. I will ever be most ready to promote your good.

The dissolution of the last Parliament will turn you off your fears for your brother Leicester, but you have a spark in your family who labours hard to confound himself and us too. I am now inclined to the plans to think what will become of us in the general, and to shift with my wife and children among you for a year or two, till God in his mercy make us wiser. At the beginning of June I hope to see you at the Hague, to look out for some retirement in that province which may shelter us. In the mean time, pray command me, who am,

Sir,

Your most faithful humble Servant,

W. HARBORD.

DOWAGER LADY SUNDERLAND TO MR. SIDNEY.

April 6th.

Dear Ambassador,

More than one I think by your good deeds. I am sorry to hear you have not been well, which my

son told me of, but with it he did hope to see you in a short time. He does say the kindest things of you in the world, and all that is possible to show every body how well you have done. The mutineers are enraged that the King does any thing well, or any body well to him, and that he does not break the laws every day; yet these pretend to be the only people for the good of the nation. The Duke meddles so little, 'tis as if he was grown extremely wise or subdued. I say 'tis the first. For the politics, you have them from your friend the Secretary.

To-morrow our new married couple will be here: all I hear from thence is satisfaction, he very fond, and Mr. Montague writ to me that her kindness might be called so too. I intend to keep my authority over her, so that she shall not call him pretty dear, as her sister does him. Our brother Algernon has been once with me; how far he will proceed I know not; I gave him a very civil reception; though we were alone a great part of the time, we did not say a word of any difference that has been. He looks very ill.

A cousin of ours has done a fine trick. My Lady Anne Balendine ran away from her husband,

and left a letter upon her table to say she was gone where she should see more happy days than she ever did with him. Mr. Finch's vigilance in the search of her has brought her back to her house again. Who she did go to is not out yet; I suppose not to live alone. Some say she went to be cured of that which you used to laugh at me for calling roguery. Every way she is a fine lady. I have taken physick. I love you, pray for you, and long to see you.

D. S.

The Duke of Monmouth is as little regarded as the Earl of Huntingdon, though many lies are told *to keep him up.* D. S.

9th. Mr. Freeman was with me; he thinks the House of Commons must approve our project.

10th. Being Easter Eve, I saw nobody.

11th. Sir Gabriel Sylvius and Dr. Ken were with me, and both complain of the Prince, especially of his usage to his wife,[1] they think she is

[1] Ken, who was at this time Chaplain to the Princess, and to whom he was greatly attached, had, we are told by Burnet,

sensible of it, which doth contribute to her illness; they are mightily for her going into England, but they think he never will give his consent. Monsieur Campricht and Monsieur de Fuen-Mayor were here; the last complains mightily of the French, and desires help, or else they shall lose all their country without a rupture. They begin to be jealous of the Duke of Hanover's raising so many regiments. Mr. Carr told me the French were laying up many sea provisions at Amsterdam, and several galliots at Saardam.

12th. The French Ambassador was with me, afterwards the Prince; he desired me to write to my Lord Sunderland and Mr. Hide, to speak to Monsieur Van Lewen not to be for the disbanding of the troops; till January they are well, but afterwards he is afraid it may be pressed again. Monsieur Van Beuninghen will be mad for it.

The Prince is mighty angry with the Spaniards and the Emperor. I told him Mr. Freeman's project; he approves of it very well, but thinks it must be upon the same footing it is now, for they shall be unwilling to make a new Treaty, for fear

a great dislike to the Prince of Orange, and was with difficulty persuaded to continue in his situation there.

of displeasing France. He tells me they are mighty angry with Freeman at court. I spoke to him of his going into England; he asked what good he should do. He tells me when the French alliance was first proposed, there were but two men in the whole country for it, he and Monsieur Van Beuninghen. The Pensioner was against it in his heart, but thought it was not to be hindered, and therefore was against the Prince's opposing it.

13th. Sir Gabriel Sylvius was with me to take his leave. He told me the Prince would go to Zell; he thinks it would be the most glorious thing in the world for the King to have some Princes of Germany his pensioners, and upon all occasions he may make use of them as of his own troops; he was to see the French Ambassador, who complained that he was going to make leagues against his master, and that we were not in England so well as we had been towards France. I writ to my Lord Sunderland and Mr. Mountstevens.

14th. Le Compte Nassau was with me. He made horrible complaints of the French, told me how easily the empire might keep an army of 80,000 men; that nobody would beat it; that they might be well paid, and the country freed from winter-

quarters. A colonel hath sometimes got a 100,000 crowns by one. I find the Emperor either cannot or will not make a Treaty without the consent of the whole. At night Mr. Freeman was with me. He was well pleased with what I told him of the Prince, and spoke of bringing Mynheer d'Alven[1] to me, who is a Judge in one of the Courts of Justice, and he thinks the ablest man in the country.

15th. Monsieur Alven was with me. In the evening there came one Mr. Butler, of Harfordshire, that told me he had been at Bourbon and at Orleans, where he became acquainted with one

[1] "Halewyn, a man of great interest in the town of Dort, and one of the Judges in the Court of Holland, was the person of them all whom I knew best, and valued most; and was the next to Fagel in the Prince's confidence. He had a great compass of learning, besides his own profession, in which he was very eminent. He had studied divinity with great exactness; and was well read in all history, but most particularly in the Greek and Roman authors. He was a man of great vivacity; he apprehended things soon, and judged very correctly. He spoke short, but with life. He had a courage and vigour in his counsels, that became one who had formed himself upon the best models in the ancient authors. He was a man of severe morals. And as he had great credit in the Court where he sat, so he took care that the partialities of friendship should not mix in the administration of justice. He had in him all the best notions of a great patriot and a true Christian philosopher."—Burnet i., 570.

—— that he found knew of great designs towards England; that he became intimate with him; that he came afterwards among others that were of the same gang; that they came from Rome; that they received further instructions at Paris, in the Prince of Condé's house, where there was Gourville, the Père de la Chaise and the Duke de Bourbon's tailor, a Swiss. Their design is against the King and the Duke's life, the corrupting the garrison at Tangier, and raising troubles in Ireland. He said they took him for a Catholic, and discontented. He said the King knew him, and was angry with him, and he desired to do him some considerable service to restore him to his favour. He saith this is a treason of the highest nature. He is afraid to meddle in it any further, unless I would encourage him. I did all I could. He said he came purposely to the Hague, because he heard of my worth and of the King's kindness to me; that he would not speak of it to Mr. Savile, because they told him he told all he knew to a woman. A great person told him at Paris that the King of France was highly unsatisfied with our King. He said that he had cheated and betrayed him several times, and would resent it, not by de-

claring war, but in raising troubles underhand. He left these persons at Abbeville, and they were come into Flanders. He desired to have something under my hand, to show, in case I died, that I encouraged him to go on.

16th. Monsieur Campricht was with me, to tell me that Mr. Skelton had presented a Memorial, which was very welcome; that upon it the Emperor had immediately resolved to send a Minister into England, and it is thought it will be the Comte Windishgratz. He thinks it would be very well if one could be sent to the Elector upon the Rhine, without making any great noise. He would have been very glad that Mr. Skelton had mentioned in his memorial that the King desired to enter into an alliance with him.

I writ to my Lord Sunderland about Mr. Butler. Afterwards he was with me. He made some scruples about going on with this business, because of the danger; but I persuaded him to undertake it, and, finding that he wanted money, I offered to let him have some of mine. He undertakes to do great matters, and doth tell a very fine story, and by it the Prince of Condé hath a very ill part. He saith there are several parties at work, the French,

the Popish, the Commonwealth; some that would get places, others that would bring things into confusion. He desires me to get a list of the garrison at Tangier; the gentleman's name at Orleans was Coke; those that come from Rome were Darcy, Conniers, and one that belongs to the Prince de Condé. The Popish party are for murdering, and burning the ships, for which they have one among them fit for their purpose. The French are for Tangier and Ireland; they are now sending two or three fellows to be hanged, to keep the plot still afoot. He saith that the Duke of Buckingham, Mr. Montague, Brisbane, and Pepys have played the knaves, and he will know those that have received money from France. He told me a ridiculous story of Mr. Savile. He hath been getting this confidence in them ever since last June.

THE COUNTESS OF SUNDERLAND TO MR. SIDNEY.

April 9th.

I won't go about to tell you the pain I have been in for your being so sick, and consequently the comfort it is to me to hear you are better, and then how all joyed I am to think we shall have you

here awhile with us. My Lord says he has sent you word you may come. If I live to see you, I dare say I shall entertain you very well with the account of what has passed since you went. In the mean time, I shall only beg you to make what haste your health will permit, and, believe me, no lady ever wished you so well as I do.

I am in a sad hurry with removing to Windsor, which we do on Monday se'nnight, where, if you have any commands for me, I shall be overjoyed to execute them. But now I come with another request, which is, that you will employ all your skill, and all your most knowing acquaintances' skill, for one pair of the finest, largest, grey coach-horses, the most dappled, the stateliest persons you can possibly get. There shall go from hence a coachman, that shall come over with them, because I would have him see a little how they order them. Pray, Mr. Sidney, take care of this matter, for you cannot imagine how much you will oblige me in it. They are for ourselves, but pray don't let my Lord know of them till they are here. I will send you by Friday's post a bill of exchange for £100, which I imagine will do the business. If there should want a little more, let me know it.

Let me hear when you come away, and pray let me have two very handsome, large, broad-backed beasts. Don't think me very troublesome nor impertinent, and be assured I'll serve you all my life, whenever I can.

The candles are the best I ever saw, for which I thank you. If I knew how much they cost, I'd send you the money, but else Mr. Spencer shall be accountable for it.

All goes to our heart's desire. I am for ever what I ought to be to you.

April 17th. Monsieur Van Beuninghen was with me. He told me he did not like the King of France's gathering of his armies. In the evening Mr. Butler came to me again; he told me he had not sent away his wife, but would place her to convey letters to me; he tells me that he will write to me every day; that he hopes the consultation in Flanders is already passed, for he shall know then all that is resolved of. He saith the other plot was only a blind, and to put us into some confusion, but this is the chief. He saith it will be the greatest service in the world to the Duke, and will make him the darling of the people. I gave him 100 duca-

toons and a cipher. He seemed to be mightily pleased that I trust him; he desires ever to be under my protection, and will be used like my servant. He thinks he shall go to Amsterdam, that he hears there is one to inquire after him, and he believes it is Chateauneuf, and if it be, he is come to talk with a Jew, that hath a brother at Tangier, about that business, and then saith you shall see something before I go. He saith he hath seen me a hundred times at court, and at my Lord Halifax's. He had no employment in England but being of the Privy Chamber; he thinks of going into England with me, and will pretend to ingratiate himself to me, with the making a discovery of those two fellows that are sent over a purpose to be hanged. I made some objection to that, thinking they would grow suspicious, but he said, seeing they ordered it so, they could not disapprove of it. They would be glad to have the King and the Duke cut off, because they think the greatest party would be for a Commonwealth, of which the Duke of Monmouth should be Prince; then the Prince of Orange would put in his claim, and at the same time lose his interest in Holland. He saith the French hate the Duke above all things

in the world, and the Catholics do not love him much better. Monsieur Ruvigni and his son attend all these consultations.

18th. Doctor Brumstein talked to me a great while of the Government; he thinks it can't last; that people go away, that there is no such thing as love to their country, for nobody knows from whence they come. He tells me how all the people in the government have been used like dogs, though now it is a little better; that some of the principals will walk without four days, without getting an audience.

In the afternoon Monsieur Slangerland came to me, and told me that the French Ambassador was to be recalled, and that Monsieur Courbin was to come in his place, who was a great enemy to England. He saith they have got more towns since the peace than they did by the war; that he hath a treble frontier on Flanders side and Alsace side. He talked of the East India Company, and of the advantage it would be if strangers had the same liberty the English had; and that if our King would give leave it would be an advantage to him.

20th. Monsieur Odyke was with me. Mr. But-

ler came, but the Doctor was with me, and he would not stay.

21st. He came again, and told me he hoped to make all plain to me here at the Hague, but that I must help him a little, which is to make Monsieur D'Avaux have a mind to him by my showing a dislike to him, and having a mind to have him sent into England. He had orders to give them a character of all the Lords and Commons, that they might proceed with them accordingly; that I shall know who takes money, how much, and who distributes it. He said that he was at Amsterdam with one Le Bar, a creature of Monsieur Ruvigny, who is an entire friend of Chateauneuf: he said that he had been about the business of Tangier, but that he would tell me nothing till he could make it apparent.

23d. Mr. Butler was with me again. He told me he would shift the scene, and bring them all to act upon this stage. He will tell them that this being a Protestant country in friendship with England, it will be the best place. He will make it appear that the King of France hath a design on his reputation, his dominions, and his life. He makes full account of Tangier, and would be sorry

to leave it in the hands of the Moors. He means to see the Ambassador to-morrow, but desires earnestly that he might be represented to him with advantage. He thinks the Prince would do it. He hopes to order it so that the Prince and I should be witnesses of all.

THE EARL OF OSSORY TO MR. SIDNEY.

Sir,

I do heartily congratulate your late success in that important negotiation wherein you have defeated the French designs. The bearer will give you an account of what is his employment, which does, I assure you, neither proceed from avarice or waspishness, but a belief that I may suffer in my honour, in continuing in a service where I have, I hope undeservedly, met with such hard usage.

I have ever had for you all manner of kindness and esteem, and I shall ever be,

Sir,

Your most humble, faithful servant,

OSSORY.

THE DOWAGER COUNTESS OF SUNDERLAND

TO MR. SIDNEY.

April 16.

I never was so glad of a letter from you as the last, and that is saying a great deal. Two days before, my son told me he had one from your secretary, and none from you, because you were not able to write. This troubled me very much, but I thank God by your kindness I was relieved, for which I most heartily thank you. I am pleased, further, with the hopes of seeing you shortly. Your friend in court saith you have been industrious and successful in the greatest affair of Europe. There are others who say nothing is done, but I believe some of them know they lie. My Lord Shaftesbury went out of town of Easter eve for fear of tumults in the holidays, which should be chiefly contrived to kill him. This great value he puts upon himself is more than any body else does.

Our new married niece is as well pleased as ever I saw any body; she says he is as kind as she can desire. Notwithstanding Pierpoint blood, he is very willing to let her have everything to the uttermost of his fortune. He bids her buy what plate or furniture she will, and he will pay for it. Her

brother and I have had a serious discourse upon her management, which we both suspect, for she is giddy, and delighted with liberty and money. We have resolved to give her the best advice we can, that she may not abuse his freeness to her, for his great rich relations will not think well of her if she is too expensive. She is a little too free and too merry in appearance, and he very grave, and has an ill opinion of his own person. Her brother and brother-in-law have both desired me to advise her; her own brother means as he ought to do in it, but not the other. My brother Algernon, upon my sending to know how he did when he was ill, has come to me three times, and I believe will continue it, for he seems very well pleased with it. We have not said one word of any difference, and I never contradict him when he says such things as that Sir William Coventry is no more an able man than a handsome man.

My son told me that my brother Leicester speaks kindly of you; he inquires how I do, but that is all the favour I am like to have. I let it alone. I am vexed at my Lord Halifax's not coming to town. I doubt not but he will. I love things well-timed. I hope some of his wise friends will persuade him.

My Lord of Essex is as much at court as if he had more employment than a Privy Counsellor, and I believe repents he is not, now he sees the King does not do irregular things, which perhaps they did fear.

I know my letter will be safe in the secretary's packet, or else I would not be so free. It has made Mr. Hyde a great man by his having much occasion to show his parts, but our friend is the chief, every one says. He is very sanguine I find in public affairs. The truth is there is every appearance of a change. The Mutineers, as the Court calls them, cannot work now. I know not what they can do in Parliament; both city and country have a mind to be quiet. If lies will support them, they will not fall. If they do no more good in other things than they have done to the Duke of Monmouth, they had as good give over that way.

I am told warrants are out for the Duke of Buckingham. He is in town, and was seen there by several, though some refused to go to him. 'Tis said there will be great proofs against him. I am interrupted.

Yours very affectionately,

D. S.

April 26th was the great business of the Burgers. In the evening Mr. Butler was with me; he told me that he had been with the French Ambassador, who was mighty kind to him. He told him he was afraid I might have orders to demand him, and send him into England. He hath undertaken to protect him, and hath offered to procure him a retreat into France. He told him that then he should not be able to do such service as he hopes to do here. They talked of Tangier; he does not think the Moors will have it, because the French that are among them will hinder it. He asked a great many questions of me, and is confident he will be fit for our turn. He thinks he shall be able to do the Prince as much service as the King by discovering who are corrupted.

27th. Monsieur de Fuen-Mayor came to desire me to write into England of their condition, that the King of France had now sent to them, that if they did not send some one to Courtray to settle all pretensions, and leave out the title of Duc de Bourgogne, he would look upon it as a contravention of the peace, and he would proceed accordingly. I writ to my Lord Sunderland.

28. Monsieur Campricht was with me, and, talk-

ing of the King's pretensions to the title of Duke of Burgundy, he saith by it he will pretend to enter into the Diet of Ratisbon. He will pretend to have a right to the whole circle, so it is of greater importance than people imagine both to the States and to England; he said Monsieur Fuen-Mayor had been to represent it to the Pensioner, that he was very sensible of it, and spoke of sending an express into England. I heard that Leyden and Haarlem would not agree; they have lost their trade since 1672.

At night Mr. Butler was with me; he hath no mind to meet the Prince here. He was to-day with the French Ambassador, who hath given him leave to come and see me. He tells me of a man that is come out of England that is fit for his purpose; he hath sent him to his companions in Flanders; he tells me our business will come to perfection in a short time; that the ambassador is caught as one would wish; that I shall see and hear every thing. He pretends to be kind to me, and give me advice.

29th. The Prince was with me. I told him of the gentleman; he suspects him, but that it was good to try. He thinks our affairs abroad in ill

condition; he desires me to write about them. He thinks it is necessary for the King to speak, and is of opinion that the business here will go well enough. He would not have me write into England about the gentleman, for all is known that is done at our council; they will write from France how well they are with England. He saith if there be not some stop to it, he will have all the frontiers without a war; he hath now the Duchy of Luxembourg. He seizes on all the villages, pretending they are his right, and then all the great towns must follow; and when he hath the villages, the country can pay nothing towards maintaining the troops. Luxembourg was to have had 3000 foot and 800 horse, and now can do nothing.

In the evening Mr. Butler was again with me; he asked if the Prince would do any thing. I told him yes. He said it would do very well; if not, saith he, we will do very well without him. He told me of Sir William Waller's being come, and that he should know all that he did and intended, and also all that that party in England intended.

30th. I wrote to Sir Robert Southwell. I was told that Amsterdam would give millions to be the first town. It is plain that it aims at governing

all the rest, or else would part from them, and would have nothing to do with them. Leyden, Harlem, and Tergo, do oppose it stoutly. Mr. Carr told me that Felps, one of the King's judges, was last week with Mr. Freeman.

May 1st. The States remained till Tuesday without coming to any conclusion. Monsieur Huneken told me that the Duke of Hanover's funeral cost 400,000 crowns; that Monsieur le Compte d'Archinto was come to town; that he was perfectly satisfied with his usage at the Duke of Brunswick's, that he had not been to see him, because he lay at Monsieur Fuen-Mayor's, and that he had not given him notice of his arrival, which he took ill, and so did Mr. Rookwood. I found by him that Mr. Freeman expected to be encouraged by the Prince, and is not well satisfied with him.

2nd. Mr. Carr told me he heard from Mr. Reik of Sir William Waller's being come; that he lay at the house of one Says, that was so forward to entertain the Duke of Monmouth. He hath brought over a minister that preaches to-day at the Brownists' Church.

3rd. I took physic, and saw nobody till the evening, when Monsieur Van Beuninghen came to me.

He told me he had been with Monsieur d'Archinto, that he had told him that the electors of Cologne and Baviere were for the true interest, and the Duke of Luxembourg well disposed. Mr. Butler came afterwards: he told me the Prince had done nothing, and thinks he shall be obliged to go into Flanders, from thence to Paris, and then hither. On the 15th there will be a consultation in Flanders; as soon as he hears from thence, he will resolve what to do. He believes if he should go to Paris, they would send him into England to be their agent; but he thinks he may do the King more service to remain at Paris, and give notice constantly of all their designs. His business here is to put Monsieur d'Avaux in mind of £2000 that is to be sent to Calais for Tangier.

4th. The Prince came to tell me of the alarm they were in for fear of a war, and is vexed at Canaples going into England; he saith if the French meddle with a town in Flanders, they shall immediately declare war. He desired me to write of it into England; I spoke to him of his going into England; I find he hath no mind to it. He thinks it will do him hurt and the King no good, and that he and the Duke shall enter into disputes that may

make them worse than they are. He is for the Spaniards giving up the title, but he thinks the French will ask something more soon after. He commends Monsieur d'Archinto very much. He told me the reason why the Spaniards had deferred treating with the King was because the King of Spain's confessor told him that he must not make an alliance with a heretic. As soon as the Duke de Medina Celi knew this, he was turned away, and orders for it were given immediately.

6th. Monsieur Belmont was with me. He told me that the actions were fallen, and that Amsterdam was very well disposed towards England. Mr. Butler told me his desires were £50 a quarter, and that not till I writ him word he deserved it by some service he has done the King. And in case he should discover so much that it will be impossible for him to stay, then he hopes to have something for his life. He was very desirous to have some one go with him to be witness of his actions, and to send away immediately if there be occasion. He does not repent his staying here. He sends a gentleman with one, to whom I am to pay his money. His wife stays at Rotterdam.

8th. Monsieur Sas told me that I lost a fine

opportunity, for the young lady was now with her aunt, and would stay there eight or ten days.

9th. Mr. Butler told me that he would go this week to Paris; that I should know something very considerable as soon as I came into England. He desires a man of good sense may be sent to be witness to his actions, and to inform the King of some things that it will be impossible to give demonstrations of, and also one that upon occasion would wear a livery. He will undertake to know any secret the King sends to the King of France. The things that he does undertake is to discover all the plots and contrivances that the King of France does use to make disunion in England, the money he laid out at the elections, and what he gives since, the whole business of Tangier, and how to prevent it, and what is designed against the King's person.

11th. Mr. Butler told me that the French Ambassador was grown very fond of him, and hath no mind he should go from hence, but would have the whole affair pass through his hands; but, seeing he is resolved to go, he will write to Monsieur Colbert a letter of commendations. He thinks the Ambassador is guided by his equerry and his bro-

ther, an Augustin friar. They all seem to be troubled that there is such a tranquillity in England.

14th. I gave Monsieur de Fuen-Mayor the copy of the letter my Lord Sunderland writ to Mr. Savile, which he was mightily pleased with. In the afternoon, Mr. Butler was with me to take his leave. He said he was to be in the evening with the French Ambassador, who had promised him a letter; but he doubts he is not confident enough to trust his letter, seeing he himself knows how to open them. He says he is now sure he can discover who are corrupted by France. He will let them see their receipts and the books of accounts. I shall have all the letters sent to me, which I must take care to seal up again. He means to give me advice with this information. Sir Stephen Fox will have things proved against him and several of the Parliament men. Shaftesbury would never say any thing. Buckingham is much in it, and Sir Ellis Leighton.[1]

[1] "Sir Ellis Leighton, the Secretary of the English Embassador at Paris, described by North as the most corrupt man then or since living, who betrayed the English and their interests for profit."—*North Examen.*, p. 488.

16th. Monsieur de Fuen-Mayor came to me to ask my consent that he should mention the letter in the memorial he had a mind to present to-morrow to the council for foreign affairs. I told him I was contented. He is extremely pleased with the letter — so is Monsieur Campricht and Mr. Rookwood, who tells me he believes the King of France will take all his master's country upon pretence that it did belong to Dagobert. He hath already Gernechen.

The French Ambassador came afterwards to see me. He saith there was no such thing said, as that his master would declare war unless he would quit the title of the Duke of Burgundy.

THE COUNTESS OF SUNDERLAND TO MR. SIDNEY.

April 20th.

I have been at Windsor, and in such a hurry getting my lodgings ready, that I was not able to write last post. I am overjoyed at your being to come hither so soon. Pray God send you well. I have sent Stevens your letter, but have not seen him since I came to Windsor; but I will be sure to do whatever you would have me, and I shall be

more pleased than I can express if ever I can serve you in any thing, though I confess I take it unkindly the excuses you make whenever you desire me to do the least thing. 'Tis not what I deserve from you, for I am sincerely your friend; and you ought to be sure of it, and then 'tis no more time for compliments. But no more of this, for I am fitter for my bed, being so ill as I ever was in my life of a cough.

Mr. Durvill will go hence on Friday in order to serve you, and I hope in God he will acquit himself well, or he loses a friend in me for ever. I have told him I thought £20 a year was very fair, and he is well contented; that was the wages the Duke of Monmouth gave him, but he had none of my father. If he discharge his part well in your service, he will deserve these wages. I am for ever your friend. Take care of yourself as you come over.

THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND TO MR. SIDNEY.

April 27th.

I have showed your two letters concerning Mr. Butler to the King and the Duke, who are of opi-

nion that you will hear no more of him, unless it is to get some more ducatoons; but, however, the King approves of your having encouraged him to discover all he knows. I am extremely glad you intend to come over quietly for many reasons, private and public, and hope you will make what haste you can, and that you will not stay long here, though you return again hither as soon as you please, for it is necessary you should visit us, to see us, and so to be the better able to give a good account of our affairs, and of those of Holland to us. A journey or two of that kind will be of great advantage to us all.

I writ to you some time since to inform yourself as well as you could of the inclinations of *the Prince to come hither to the Parliament.*[1] Now I desire yon will know whether, if it should be thought reasonable, *he would not come sooner.* Pray inform yourself particularly of these things, and make what haste you can to come to us. Monsieur Bourgomanero is going over into Flanders, and from thence to Vienna, and intends to begin his journey by the Hague, which I am very glad of, for no man knows us better than he does.

I am absolutely yours.

[1] The passages in italics are in cipher.

SIR W. TEMPLE TO MR. SIDNEY.

Sheen, April 27th.

I am mighty sorry to hear of your illness still, both in your last of the 12th, and by one my Lord Sunderland told me he had from you last Saturday. I begin to fear you have not taken so much care of your own business as you have of your master's; and that, in spite of your good successes, you will prove to have fallen into some worse towns in Holland than Monsieur D'Avaux has done. You cannot imagine how much I am troubled that you are ill, let be what it will; and I cannot but wish you in some place that would be for your health, though I know not well how you could at present be spared from thence—'twas very kind in your last to tell me of the Princess's recovery — pray let the next be of your own. I have not been in town this month or more till last Saturday, having been a little troubled with one of my feet, and not a little pleased with being here. All seems to go at London just as it did when I left it last; and my Lord Sunderland said, it will do so certainly as to affairs abroad. The King looks in better health than I have known him since his sickness last year. And, since I have known Whitehall, I never saw such a

Court as at the Duke's levee that morning I was there.

I am ever and truly yours.

THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND TO MR. SIDNEY.

May 11th.

Before your letter of the 17th came to Sir Leoline Jenkins, the King had commanded me to direct Mr. Savile to act just as the Dutch Ambassadors had done at Paris, or should do; his Majesty being resolved never to separate himself from the common interest. Monsieur Van Lewin has reason to be, and, I think, is entirely satisfied with the King; but all that relates to these matters I am sure you will have it at large from him or Mr. Secretary. I will only tell you, in short, that every thing goes better than you can believe here, and that I am not of opinion that his Most Christian Majesty will begin a war against all the world at once. If he does, we must do our parts as well as we can. We are resolved and prepared for all that can happen.

I am confident you would be soon well here, and I am impatient to see you, and it is necessary.

THE COUNTESS OF SUNDERLAND TO MR. SIDNEY.

May 11th.

I can think of nothing with any patience, unless you come over. I am confident you will never recover your health where you are; therefore, pray come away, though you be lifted in your bed into the yacht, pray do. I will take care to have your lodgings ready here, and good ones at Windsor for you, though your own cannot be ready this year.

I give you a million of thanks for the care you have in my concerns, both little and great. I'll repay you, if it be possible to be repaid by a sincere friendship to the last of my days.

As to what you say of my Lord's play, to my great grief he has played enough to afflict me, and let me see he considers my trouble very little; but truly I don't think he has done it enough to cause any such report as you have heard, neither does he neglect his business, but labours like a horse, and like an honest man to his country, and is so successful in his undertakings that I think there is nothing to be feared, if the King of France does not fall upon Flanders this summer, for we are all so well resolved here as you can imagine. The

King is unalterable, and neither you nor I need fear the Duchess of Portsmouth nor any thing else at home. So that I wish the King of France did think of a league, for that would secure us that he had no other designs abroad, and assure yourself none of these will prevail. But indeed you would be extreme necessary here; therefore, pray believe me, and come away. As for my horses, which my heart is much set upon, I had rather stay longer than not have them very good; therefore, put yourself to no pain for that matter, but, when you come, take a little care that my coachman may live with your servants, and learn a little how to order them. Pray take care of yourself and come quickly.

I hear my Lord Leycester is very angry, as you'll easily believe. Pray, make haste.

I am yours most kindly and unalterably.

May 17th. I walked a great while in Monsieur Bentem's garden. In the evening, Monsieur Hemskirke, Envoy for Spain, came to take his leave.

THE COUNTESS OF SUNDERLAND TO MR. SIDNEY.

Windsor, May 18th.

If it be necessary my telling you I am overjoyed at the thoughts of seeing you here, you will be very unjust, for you ought to be thoroughly convinced of my friendship to you, and these expressions are very idle, but one I'll make you which I take to be very considerable. I'll come back purposely to see you from Althorpe, and so be here the day my Lord writ to you to be here.

We have been all sadly alarmed with the King's being sick, but he is now very well again, and I hope will continue so, if he can be kept from fishing when a dog would not be abroad.

I will not say any thing of my mind to you, but keep it till I see you, that I may entertain you the better. Till then, farewell. Pray take care of yourself in your journey.

A. S.

19th. I was with the French Ambassador and other foreign ministers. At night I was with the Prince, who was mighty kind. He said he would draw up a memorial of the things he had to say to me before I go. He is in dispute whether it is

best for Sir Robert Southwell to stay. He does not apprehend the King of Denmark much, but he is doubtful of the French. He told me a story of what happened at Guernsey; that the King told Monsieur Van Lewen he confessed the French had cozened him. We talked of the King's sickness and the sad consequences. He said I should do well to write into England; that the King would do well to make some kind of compliment to the Duke of Zell, upon the report of the King of Denmark's coming towards his territories.

20th. Mr. Freeman was with me. We talked over the discourse. He presses much to have the business dispatched before I go. At night the Prince took me aside and talked of all our affairs. He begins to think that 'tis very likely the King of France will fall upon Flanders this summer. I was with Monsieur Van Beuninghen, and he is of another mind. The Prince told me the story of Wesely, with whom I find he is much unsatisfied. He saith he sent him an impertinent paper, which he is sorry he did not keep to show me. He told me he intended to dine with me on Saturday, and so go out of town afterwards.

21st. Colonel Wesely came to desire me to speak

to the Prince, but I excused it. I was at Court, and took my leave of the Princess.

22nd. The Prince dined with me, and desired me to stop at Monsieur Odyke's. When he was there, he told me, in the first place, he approved of all we did in England; and all he desired was, that we should be steady. He saith it will be impossible to help the Spaniards, unless they will help themselves. He blames Ronquillos for bragging; then he fell to talk of Mr. Freeman's project. He is still of opinion that it will be of great use, but he believes these people will not be brought to it, and therefore he is for having it renewed. Mr. Freeman saith that the Parliament hath voted against it. He thinks he will do very well to go over and let people know the condition of Europe. He saith the Pensioner will speak to me about it. We spoke of Mynheer Alwin, and commended him. He is clearly for Sir Robert Southwell's staying, and so not showing any great anger at his refusal. He believes he will follow, if the Dukes of Brunswick will begin. For the business at Hamburgh, he tells me that they are not at all satisfied with it, and what assistance they give is more out of kindness to the Dukes of Brunswick than to them, for

they are not pleased with them; but he does not think the King of Denmark does intend to meddle with them. He saith that Monsieur Lente was with him, by order of his master, to assure him that he would not make a league with France, nor was he about it. As to his own business, he denies the King would recommend it to Monsieur Ronquillos, and order Sir Harry Goderick to be pressing that he may have the money that is due to him. As to his coming into England, he thinks it will do him a great deal of hurt here, may make him worse with the Duke, and he does not know what good it can do. In November it will be impossible for him to stir, it being the month that the state of the war will be settled. He desired me to make his compliments, and that he will be at Hounslerdyke the 9th of July.

THE DOWAGER COUNTESS OF SUNDERLAND

TO MR. SIDNEY.

May 18th.

I had given you last post the kindest thanks you can imagine for the pleasure I had in your kind letter, and that you were better in your health; but I was then like most others, out of

my wits with the King's being ill, and greater distraction never was any where for the time; thanks be to God it did not last long. I have not heard to-day, but yesterday he was very well, but I take the less comfort in it because he has taken the Jesuits' powder;[1] the fits he had did not last above two or three hours. In this time there was several parties met to counsel in their fright. God keep the nation from the experiment what they could have done! I will not trouble you with my comments, but if the King continues well, my son will go in a short time to Althorpe; there my Lord Halifax will meet him, but when he will be here I know not. Sir William Coventry is there.

My sister is much delighted with the marriage; the fortune proves much better than it was given in

[1] Sir W. Temple, in his Essay on Health and Long Life, alludes to these suspicions with regard to the Jesuits' powders. He says, "That which has been passed of latter years for the most allowed has been the Quinquinna, or Jesuits' powder, in fevers, but especially agues. I can say nothing of it upon any experience of my own, nor many within my knowledge. I remember its entrance upon our stage, with some disadvantage, and the repute of leaving no cures, without danger of worse returns: but the credit of it seems now to be established by common use and prescription, and to be improved by new and singular preparations."—iii. 296.

by him, and he is very fond of her. Mrs. Fraser has taken her leave at the Court, in order, they say, to being owned my Lady Mordaunt, though yet he denies it, but she and her friends do not; so two deplorable things to two of our prime young Lords have happened, his marriage and my Lord Shrewsbury's eye, which is out, and with great deformity yet, and the other in danger. I have acquainted my Lord Halifax with your very kind offer to his son, which I do heartily thank you for; I hope he will deserve kindness from all his friends; his father is not inclined to have him go into Flanders, therefore he has laid aside the thoughts of it. The rain and thunder is in extremity at this instant; it gives me ten spleens besides my own. This weather, I hope, will keep my sister in town a few days longer; she was always very kind to me, but her daughter's marriage has made her more so. If my love is worth any thing, upon my honest word you have more of it than ever you had or can care for. Next post I will write again. I expect no return in a great while.

D. S.

THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND TO MR. SIDNEY.

Windsor, May 18th.

I have taken care that a yacht may be at the Brill on Saturday se'nnight, which will be the 29th of this month; I hope you will be well enough to hold your resolution of coming then. Canaples is come, but the jealousies his journey gives are so ridiculous I cannot think them worth repeating. I have writ to the Prince what I had to say to you. When you are here you will find great changes, but none but for the better. I go the next week to Althorpe, and shall not be in London again till Wednesday morning, where the King will also be at Council, which is the reason why I put off the yacht one day further, because I would fain see you on your arrival.

Don P. Ronquillos is come, and I like him very well, though I fear he is a little fanfaron, by what he says of Spain and Flanders.

S.

SIR LEOLINE JENKINS TO MR. SIDNEY.

Sir,

'Tis now ten at night (and the post is going out) that I return from Windsor, where I had the

honour to see his Majesty perfectly recovered of his aguish distemper. He was abroad at prayers in the public oratory. Out of doors the weather would not permit him to go. He suffered me to be at his feet upon business for half an hour together. He dined with the Queen in public, and had a very good appetite. In a word, my Lord Sunderland hath let the Lord Mayor and myself (who am always here) know that we are to expect no more the account which we had from Windsor twice a day of his Majesty's state of health, it being now so good that the physicians are in no apprehension, blessed be God for it! of the returning of his ague.

It would be of use here if you could learn underhand how the Dutch stand affected to rescue Hamburgh from being possessed by the King of Denmark. The King hath some reason to look after that city; but he will, as I believe, know what the States will do for that city; nor can I think he will ever enter into measures different from those of the States in relation to Hamburgh. I pray you learn underhand what you can possibly of the States' inclinations.

His Majesty hath commanded me to write to

you to watch Sir William Waller, who, among others, is said to spread there all the venom he can against his Majesty and the Government.

23d. I was at the French church, and saw the young lady; afterwards I went to Madame de Fuen-Mayor.

24th. I was with the Pensioner, and spoke to him about the business of Hamburgh; he saith that now it is in no danger, the King of Denmark's design is upon Oöst Frise; that Monsieur de Siegle had been with him to know what they would do in case he came thither; he said they should be unwilling to have such a neighbour, that the best thing they could do would be to pay the money, 50,000 crowns. Then we talked of Mr. Freeman's project; he finds great difficulty in making a new alliance, but approves much of confirming the old. I spoke to him about the merchants of Dort; he saith, that when the States of Holland meet he will speak about it. When I spoke about the Butter business, he advised me not to put in a memorial. He desired me to put Monsieur Fuen-Mayor, upon taking care of the

Low Countries. He does not believe France will do any thing this year; afterwards, the captain of the yacht came to me.

25th. Mr. Carr was with me. He told me of Sir William Waller's being gone from Amsterdam, some think to Genoa. He was much pleased at first, but afterwards he was unsatisfied, upon being refused to be made a Burger, and being shut out of the Burgomaster's pew. He had a great deal of money: where he got it, and how he will pay it again, is a question. Amsterdam is very well disposed towards us. Mr. Alwin was with me; he told me his opinion of Ostend and Newport, and the difficulty of a general convocation.

26th. Mr. Carr told me that there came last year but 49 ships from all France into this country, six from Spain, and two from Portugal. He saith Monsieur Van Beuninghen doth more hurt than good, with his great talking. Monsieur Boreel and Monsieur Witse are like to come into play.

27th. Monsieur Campricht was with me, and told me he believed he might have some good news to tell me in a few days. Monsieur de Fuen-Mayor came afterwards, and gave me the resolution

of the States in answer to his memorial. He seemed to be pleased with Mr. Savile, and desires me to encourage him. He thinks Monsieur Boreel acts more from his instructions from Amsterdam than from the States-General.

In the evening the Commissioner for foreign affairs sent to desire to speak with me; at ten Monsieur Bernards came to me, and gave me to understand how unsatisfied he was, that he would speak with Monsieur Louvois, and if he did not give him satisfaction he would quit: he saith the King of France will seize upon three or four towns if the Spaniards do not give up the title of Duke of Burgundy, and if they do, then he will pretend to the whole country and give them one of his sons to be their governor, and ease them of the charge they are at: he does not value anything but England; he would quickly be master of all if they did not fear something from thence. He showed me a book that is called Histoire de la Paix, written by the equerry of Monsieur D'Avaux; he saith Monsieur de Louvois does all: the King stays for him to give his answer; I believe he hath a mind to be employed by England.

28th. I went to the Foreign Committee. Mon-

sieur Werkendam and six more were there; they gave me their resolutions to the Spanish Envoys' memorial, and desired me to do them all the good offices by his Majesty.

In the afternoon the Pensioner was with me, and talked as if we should lose Spain, but he thought that England and Holland might resist France. He hath not spoken with Freeman, but will on Thursday morning. He does not like the letters out of France; he believes the Duke de Villa Hermosa will have orders to give up the title of Burgundy.

29th. I was with the French Ambassador and the other ministers to take my leave; in the afternoon they came to me.

30th. I was at the French Church, and saw the lady, and afterwards went to take my leave, resolving to go away the next day.

31st. Monsieur Sas sent me word he could not be with me till to-morrow, upon which I put off my journey. I writ to the Prince, and sent Sir Robert Southwell's papers. I sent Mr. Freeman's project to the Pensioner; and at night they sent me word that Monsieur de Bourgamenero was come.

June the 1st. I was with Monsieur Bourgamenero; he calls my Lord Sunderland their Protecteur. He desires me to tell him he will not omit one of his orders; he is much pleased with the court, and desired me to tell the King he hath not a better Englishman in all England. I think he desired to have his duty presented to the King.

At dinner Monsieur Sas told me that I could not see the lady. Then I resolved to come away that day; he brought me to Mayslandsluys; on the way we talked of my young lady, he saith she hath £120,000. Her uncle hath put him on getting the trustees' consent, and saith he will order the business so that I shall have her as soon as I come back. He saith she is as well born as any lady in this country; her grandfather got the estate and left it to his daughter; his name was Kennet, her father, Hewsden. He desired me to speak to Sir Thomas Chichely about his own business, and the money that is due for the new guns, the account of which is lost. I walked over the island, and took a little boat that took me to the yacht.

2nd. At three we weighed, and there being but little wind, we could not get over the sands that tide, and were fain to come to an anchor, where

we staid till two in the afternoon, when we weighed.

3rd. We made towards Harwich, and saw the packet boat, and came near the shore.

4th. I came to London, and went to Sir Lionel Jenkins.

5th. I came to Windsor, and waited upon the King and the Duke; and acquainted the King of the Prince of Orange's good intentions, and the States' inclinations towards him and the Duke. I was with my Lord Sunderland; he assured me of the King's steadiness, but that the Prince must also do his part. I gave him an account of all our affairs in Holland.

6th. I was with Ronquillos and the French Ambassador. The beginning of the Treaty was put off till Tuesday, because several of the Committee were absent. I heard the difficulties that Sir Lionel Jenkins made, and the designs about the Duke of Monmouth. The Prince's coming is thought absolutely necessary; he must help, and it concerns him more than any body. I took my leave of the King.

7th. I dined with Montague, and came from Windsor with Lord Sunderland and Mr. Godol-

phin, and went to the Duke of Monmouth. He said he was pleased with the Alliance, but wondered how any body could persuade the Duke to be such an ass as to be for it.

I went to Sir W. Jones.[1] I found him discon-

[1] Sir William Jones had been Attorney General, but had resigned his office, and engaged violently in the political conflicts of the day, particularly with regard to the Bill of Exclusion. Sir. W. Temple says that the strong part he took on that occasion had very great influence in the House of Commons. "This person having the name of the greatest lawyer in the kingdom, and commonly of a very wise man, besides this of a very rich, and of a wary or rather timorous nature, made people generally conclude that the thing was safe."—Temple's *Works*, ii., 531.

North, in his Examen, speaking of Sir W. Jones, says, "I am persuaded that, being in place, he was very weary of the Plot prosecutions, as he was afterwards of being among the heads of a faction against the Court which he had served. The former was obnoxious to uneasy reflections that, if out of ardour he exceeded, innocent blood might be in the rear of him; and the other touched his reputation, as not consistent with the decorum of a servant, who, though never so ill used, should not publickly fly in his quondam master's face. All which matters must needs be weighed by one of his penetration and judgment, and who was no ill man at bottom, though unhappily mistaken in his conduct." . . . .

"After the Oxford Parliament he did not appear much abroad. He hated Shaftesbury, and, notwithstanding party work, would not willingly come into the room where he was. His personal virtue and gravity were great, and he could not bear such a flirting wit and libertine as the other was."

Sir W. Jones was the intimate friend of Burnet, who has

tented, but as I thought inclined enough to be taken in. Sir Thomas Armstrong was with me; he seems to desire the Prince of Orange should do anything to come into the King's favour.

left this character of him. "He was raised to the high post (Attorney General) merely by merit, and his being thought the greatest man of the law: for as he was no flatterer, but a man of morose temper, so he was against all the measures that they took at Court. They were weary of him. . . . . Jones was an honest and wise man. He had a roughness in his deportment that was very disagreeable: but he was a good-natured man at bottom, and a faithful friend. He grew weary of his employment, and laid it down; and though the Great Seal was offered him, he would not accept it, nor return to business. The quickness of his thoughts carried his views far, and the sourness of his temper made him too apt both to suspect and to despise most of those who came to him." — Temple's *Works*, ii., 95.

"He died at Hampden, in Bucks, in May, 1682, of a cold he took there by unaired sheets. The old Lord Trevor, who was well known to him and related to Mr. Hampden, and acquainted with many of the party, told me that it was thought a great felicity to Sir W. Jones, by his nearest friends, that he died at this time; for, as he was privy to the consultations and designs of the Lord Russel and the others of his sect, and having made himself as obnoxious to the Court as any of them, and because of his superior abilities more dangerous, it was very likely he would have fallen under the suspicion at least of having been engaged in the plot my Lord Russell suffered for, and have been treated with a particular severity, which his timid nature could not have borne, and might have drawn confessions from him injurious to his friends and his own character."—Note to Burnet's *Hist.* ii., 332.

8th. At night I was at my Lord Sunderland's; they told me that the Alliance was agreed on, and would be signed on Thursday. They talked to me of the Prince, which I have put down in writing.

9th. The King came to town, and the news that the two forts were taken at Tangier.

11th. I went to Windsor. As soon as I came there, they told me that the Alliance with Spain was signed, and as soon as it was done, Monsieur Rounquillos[1] took my Lord Sunderland about the neck and kissed him. There was a council for the business of Tangier.

12th. I was with the Dutch Ambassador, and find

[1] The Spanish Ambassador, thus described by Evelyn, April 21st, 1681. "I dined at Don Pietro Ronquillos, the Spanish Ambassador, at Wyld House (near Drury Lane), who used me with extraordinary civility. The dinner was plentiful, halfe after the Spanish, halfe after the English way. After dinner he led me into his bed-chamber, where we fell into a long discourse concerning religion. Though he was a learned man in politicks and an advocate, he was very ignorant in religion, and unable to defend any point in controversy; he was, however, far from being fierce. At parting he earnestly wished me to apply humbly to the Blessed Virgin to direct me, assuring me that he had known divers who had been averse from the Roman Catholic religion wonderfully enlightened and convinced by her intercession. He importuned me to come and visit him often."

him perfectly satisfied with us. He takes notice that Monsieur Barillon is out of countenance. He told him he heard he had signed a treaty, but he said there was no such thing. We talked of the affairs of Spain, which we concluded would not be saved, unless they would help themselves. I went afterwards to Lord Sunderland, and found him very well pleased: he hath great hopes matters will go well. He takes a great deal of pains; finds the Duchess of Portsmouth knew nothing of the alliance till it was done. Lord Arlington hath a mind to come about; he did not believe the King would ever be brought to what he now does. He never speaks to the French Ambassador, and uses the other with great kindness. They will make it their business to have the Parliament do well. Fonseca will be sent for over, and Monsieur Van Lewin will come again. Feversham and Legg against the sitting of the Parliament, Churchill for the things that are reasonable. The King is better pleased than ever he was, and sensible of his making a figure in Europe. If the Spaniards had been attacked, we had in a fortnight sent out 25 great ships, and five thousand men.

13th. I was at Sheen with my Lord Sunderland,

the Spanish Ambassador, and the Dutch, who are entirely satisfied with us: the greatest part of our discourse was guessing whether the King of France would do any thing or not. We persuaded Sir William Temple to go into Spain.

14th. I dined with the Spanish Ambassador. At night I came to London with my Lord Sunderland and Lord Middleton.

15th. I went to Althorpe, and staid there till the 22nd. There was my Lord Halifax, Mr. Hide, Mr. Godolphin, and Mr. Shepherd; we gave him (Halifax) so great satisfaction, that he will again come amongst us. He inquired much after the Prince of Orange. I asked why they sent for the Duke, because he would have come without it. I had again another conversation about the Prince's coming. They think his being here will put an awe upon people and hinder them from being stark mad, which is all we desire. Monsieur Van Lewin, being Extraordinary Ambassador, will contribute a great deal to show the concern that the States have, that the King and the Parliament should agree, and let them know all is lost without it. The King will desire no money, unless his alliances will require it; he will have all acts for securing them

against popery, but will not meddle with the succession. He will have the Parliament meet sooner than was intended. My Lord Sunderland bade me tell the Prince he did value himself a little upon what he hath done; that he had to do with the King, the Duke, the Duchess of Portsmouth, and Barillon, that had none of them any inclination to what hath been done. He never took so much pains in all his life, and can assure me that the King is now as much in earnest in pursuing the Spanish interest as he used to be for the French. He would have it put in the Gazette, that the King of France changed his mind, and it was thought to be upon the alliances that were made.

22nd. I came to London, and went to see Mr. Hide. I heard of the Grand Jury resolving to petition.

23rd. I dined with the King at the Duke of Southampton's. In the morning he told the Sheriffs that they thought to make a fool of him, and to make him angry, so to put off Parliament. My Lord of Ossory appointed to command the forces at Tangier.

24th was the business of the Petitions at the Commons' Hall. I went to see the Lord President.

25th. I dined with Sir William Temple: Sir

Harry Capel was there; I found them in no good humour. In the morning I was with the Lords of the Treasury; asked for money for the robes, and gave in my extraordinaries.

26th. I was at the King's rising. I signed a letter to the Lord Chancellor for the swearing Gilbert Spencer; was afterwards with my Lord Sunderland; we talked again of the Prince's coming. They think that he, setting up for the Protestant religion, will have more followers than the Duke of Monmouth, who intends to play that game. At night we heard of the Lords' Petition and indictment against the Duke and Duchess of Portsmouth, but not all the particulars.

27th. I was with the French Ambassador and Ronquillos. He told me there was hope of the acts passing in Holland; that when it was done one of the declarations should be sent to him, the other to my Lord Sunderland. The King was spoke to about my business. I took leave of the King and all the Court.

28th. I took leave of my friends at Windsor. At night I was with my Lord Sunderland; the last thing he said to me was to use my uttermost endeavours with the Prince to come over, that without

it nothing can be done; if he does come he will answer for it he shall have more credit with the King than any body.

29th. Sir Thomas Armstrong was with me; he fancied we were not so earnest for the Duke of Monmouth as we had been.[1] At twelve o'clock I came on board the Mary Yacht.

June 30th and July 1st at sea.

July 2nd. I landed at Mayslandsluys.

3rd. My Lord Middleton arrived. Monsieur Fuen-Mayor was with me.

4th. I went with him to Hounslerdyke, and after dinner had a good deal of discourse with the Prince about his going into England. He saith he cannot imagine what good he can do by it; that he hath no acquaintance nor no party; that for his own particular, he knows that if he should come over, and if the King and the Parliament did not agree, he should be absolutely undone in this country; that, if there runs a current against the Duke, it will be impossible for him to stop it. He asked if the King

[1] Sir Thomas Armstrong, who was tried and executed in 1684 for being engaged in the Rye House Plot, had attached himself entirely to the Duke of Monmouth, by whom he was trusted in every thing.—Burnet *passim*.

knew any thing, for without his command he can do nothing. If the Duke was gone, he believed he could do something; that he cannot hope to get any interest with the King in a fortnight, and to venture ruining himself when there is little hopes of doing good is not prudent; but, saith he, I can resolve upon nothing till September. I shall then go into Germany, which I do in order to my Lady Ann's marriage, in which I have done a good deal already, and to see the Dukes of Brunswick and Elector of Brandenburgh. He approves much of Monsieur Van Lewin's going into England; he is doubtful of getting the act passed. All shall be done that can be; and if he finds it will not do, it shall not be proposed. He thinks the King does well to make this trial of them. It must pass the States of Holland and the States-General, for the Deputies dare not pass it. It must be carried with great secrecy.

5th. I was with Monsieur Campricht. He saith my journey will be the best thing that can be; that the Emperor is now treating with the Elector of Cologne, that I should do well to carry a letter to the Duke de Newbourg, to the Prince de Hesse Darmstadt, to the Prince of Baden, and to the

Prince of Wirtemburg. Mr. Carr was with me. He told me how afraid they were at Amsterdam that I was come to make a new proposition, and that the actions fell upon it.

6th. I was with the Pensioner. He told me for his part he would make no difficulty in passing the act, but the Deputies for Foreign Affairs dare not; that it must be brought into the State of Holland, which shall not be done unless they are sure. In the evening, the Prince, the Pensioner, Monsieur Van Lewen, and Van Beuninghen, are to meet, to see what is to be done. They think, if they pass the act for the King, they shall also pass one for the King of Spain.

7th. I was with Monsieur Van Beuninghen, and find him unwilling that the act should now be proposed.

8th. Monsieur Campricht was with me, and told me he had been with the Pensioner to let him know that his master was resolved to enter into an alliance with the King, and that he thought it was absolutely necessary that this state should also either make a new one with England, or renew that which is now on foot. The Pensioner approved of it, and all should be done towards it

that was possible. He spoke to him about the business of the Elector Palatine, and said his master desired they would give orders to their Ambassadors to endeavour to know how far his Most Christian Majesty's pretensions did reach in the Palatinate, and so endeavour to accommodate it. He came afterwards to me to desire the same order might be given to Mr. Saville, and that the King should be guaranteer of peace; and the Prince Elector, being nearly related, it would be best for the King's Minister to move first, and the States to second it. He also told the Pensioner that he desired the subsidies due to his master might be paid, because he intended to give it to the Prince Elector.

THE COUNTESS OF SUNDERLAND TO MR. SIDNEY.

July 2nd.

I cannot write to you as I would, because I am forced to stay here to dispatch some business, and my cipher is at Windsor, but many reasons will not suffer me to defer letting you hear this post from me. One of the first things is to assure you, I want you more than you can imagine; that we are all in my house kinder to you than can be ex-

pressed. Mr. Saville is safely arrived, and scarcely to be comforted, being so near your yacht, and not seeing you. My Lady Scroop I have not seen, but my Lord went to wait on her, and found her at dinner on a leg of veal, swimming in butter, which has so turned his stomach, that she will scarce recover his good opinion.

Things here remain in the same posture you left them in, but with this difference, that they are more exasperated against the Duke every day. I am so fully convinced of the necessity of your friends doing what my Lord wishes, that I beg of you, if you wish well to any thing, that you will make sure of his doing it, for I am confident it will be necessary sooner than we thought when you went away. I can't write more plainly now for want of my cipher; but I hope you will depend enough upon me to believe it necessary when I tell you, there is no hope left if your friend will not do his part, as he will be desired; therefore, for God's sake, prepare every thing in order to that which my Lord insisted upon, for I am sure, when I can write to you the reasons I go upon, you will be convinced that may do our business, and that nothing else can.

8th. I dined with the Prince and Princess at the Count de Horne's, and the Prince told me that we could not do the business at that time. He finds plainly by Monsieur Van Beuninghen that Amsterdam is not to be brought to it.

14th. I was with Monsieur Alvin. He seems to be the greatest servant of the Prince's.

15th. I invited some company to dinner, but could not stay, for the Prince fetched me away to Monsieur Bentem's, where I dined and supped. The Princess was there, and the Ladies. Going thither, the Prince told me of Monsieur Rounswinkle being recalled, and Monsieur Blaspiel to come in his place, because of his living better with me than with the French Ambassador, and upon being too well with the Prince of Orange. This is unwisely done by the Elector, because he is much beloved, and would have done his master's business sooner than anybody. When we came to Sourfleet, he shewed me a letter from the Baron Waldeck, which gave him a very good account of all Germany, and of the Princes upon the Rhine, and of an army to be composed of little Princes, which the Prince approved of, and told me it was necessary for me to speak with Waldeck.

16th. The Prince dined with me. I shewed him my letters. He found there was something that concerned his coming over. He said, in plain terms, he would not come over till he saw what became of the Duke, and then he would let it go which way it would. He thinks it is not very wise nor a pleasant thing to ruin oneself for one that does not love one. I writ to my Lord Sunderland and Sir Lionel Jenkins.

18th. I dined at Hounslerdyke. My Lady Inchiquin told me the story of her Lord, and desired me to recommend it to my Lord Sunderland.

20th. I was all day hunting with the Prince.

21st. I was with the Prince, and delivered him the letters I had received.

27th. I was at Rotterdam, and saw Madame Vandergrassen and her daughter; that day the Prince and Princess were at Dieren. I writ to Sir Lionel Jenkins.

MR. SIDNEY TO SIR LEOLINE JENKINS.

July 26th.

Sir,

This morning I received yours of the 17th, and have acquainted the Prince with what you were

pleased to write, who said upon it, that it was impossible to get the Act to pass this Assembly, and therefore it were a madness to propose it, but he did not doubt they should pass it in the next. He is as much concerned in it as any of us can be, and will use his utmost endeavours. The States will separate in a few days, and will meet again the beginning of September. He intends to be here purposely about that business, for none other will require his presence.

On Wednesday last there happened a very sad accident at Hensden. About eight o'clock at night, there being a violent storm of rain, and thunder, and lightning, a flash of it got into the magasin, which was in a deep vault with very thick walls, and two of the vaults upon it, yet the lightning found the way, and blew it up. There were threescore thousand pounds of powder, and thirty thousand granades ready charged. This tore the Castle in pieces, threw down most of the houses in the town, and killed several persons. The Count Horne was governor of the town, and had a great many goods, so that his loss is very considerable, and the poor town is quite ruined.

The Elector of Brandenburg has recalled Mon-

sieur de Rounswinkle, who hath been his minister here these eight years, and more capable of doing his master's commands than any other man can be, being extremely beloved. He intends to send Monsieur Blaspiel: the reason is not publicly known, but I am told, as a great secret, that it is to make a compliment to France; Monsieur D'Avaux having complained that he inclined too much to England, and was very often with me, and never came to see him. Monsieur Blaspiel, that you knew at Nimeguen, is to succeed him.

SIR L. JENKINS TO MR. SIDNEY.

July 24th, —80.

Sir,

I laid your letter of the 26th, N. S., before his Majesty, and he acquiesces in what the Prince does at present, and resolves to do, in due time, respecting the Act.

Letters from several parts beyond the seas do tell us that we are represented there as if we were already in a flame. God be praised! 'tis no such matter. All things are as still and peaceable as ever they were, only we are pelted at with impudent, horrid libels.

The losing of the day in the election of the new sheriffs in London is, it must be confessed, a disreputation to the loyal party that appeared in that canvass, but the Sheriffs can do the Government no great harm that can be foreseen. Nor was it the wealthier and soberer part of the city, but the indigent and the headstrong party that carried it. Among the Aldermen, on a question not unlike that about the Sheriffs, they were seventeen to four, the seventeen being for that which was most for the King's service.

The country gentlemen have an indignation at the proceedings of the city, and do look upon their election as a parallel line drawn to that of 41-42.

Blessed be God, we are much more quiet than the malicious report of the many, both at home and abroad, would have us to be! Our peace is entire here, and in the circuits the Judges find all things to go on as well as one could wish.

I am perfectly yours,

L. JENKINS.

SIR LEOLINE JENKINS TO MR. SIDNEY.

Whitehall, July 27th, —80.

Sir,

I humbly thank you for yours of the 30th, New Style. You will have it from all hands, that there polled for Cornish, 2483; for Bethel, 2276; for Box, 1428; for Nicholson, 1200: these two last are good men, and such as we wished well to. We comfort ourselves as the cavalier party did of old. We think, and 'tis not to be doubted, but that if these new Sheriffs do keep themselves within the bounds of the law and of their proper sphere, they will do the Government no harm, and men that are wealthy and sober have an interest to keep all things quiet; and we are persuaded that that sort of men was most of them of our side in the polling.

My Lords Mulgrave and Lumley arrived at Windsor on Sunday night from Tangier. They found a truce of four months struck up there, so that they chose to return into England with an exact account of the state of the place, rather than stay there and do nothing in so many months. They demand 6000 foot and 600 horse; so much they must have to take the field withal, and take

the field they must, or else they cannot have so much territory as is necessary for the defence of the place and the Mole. My Lord of Ossory is desperately ill of a fever; 'tis but this day we begin to have some hopes of him. His Majesty is sending Sir W. Temple ambassador into Spain.

I am with perfect truth,

Yours, &c.

SIR L. JENKINS TO MR. SIDNEY.

Whitehall, July 30th.

The loss we have in my Lord the Earl of Ossory,[1] who departed this life at seven o'clock

[1] "My most noble and illustrious friend, the Earl of Ossorie, espying me this morning after sermon in the privy gallery, calling to me, told me he was going his journey (meaning to Tangier, whither he was designed Governor and General of the Forces). I asked if he would not call at my house (as he always did whenever he went out of England on any exploit); he said he must embark at Portsmouth, wherefore, let you and I dine together." — — — "I am not well, shall be private, and desire your company." "Being retired to his lodgings, and sat down on a couch, he sent to his Secretary for the copy of a letter which he had written to Lord Sunderland (Secretary of State), wishing me to read it; it was to take notice how ill he resented it that he should tell the King before Lord Ossorie's face, that Tangier was not to be kept, but would certainly be lost, and yet added, that 'twas fit Lord Ossorie

this afternoon, is a distraction to all thoughts relating to the King's service; so inexpressible is the loss of that great man to the Church, to the Crown, to his Lordship's particular friends and dependents: and if there be indications, as many learned men have admitted, of future calamities, I do believe the loss of this great man at this time

should be sent, that they might give some account of it to the world, meaning, (as he supposed,) to the next Parliament, when all such miscarriages would be inquired into. This Lord Ossorie took very ill of Lord Sunderland, and not kindly of the King, who, resolving to send him with an incompetent force, seemed, as his Lordship took it, to be willing to cast him away, not only on an hazardous adventure, but in most men's opinions an impossibility. This touched my Lord deeply." — — — — "It certainly took so deepe a roote in his mind, that he who was the most void of fear in the world, (and assured me he would go to Tangier with ten men if his Majesty commanded him,) could not bear up against this unkindness. Having disburdened himself of this to me after dinner, he went with his Majesty to the Sheriffes, at a great supper, but, finding himself ill, tooke his leave immediately of his Majesty, and came back to his lodging. His disorder turned to a malignant fever, which increasing, after all that six of the most able physicians could do, became delirious, with intervals of sense, during which, Dr. Lloyd (afterwards Bishop of St. Asaph,) administered the Holy Sacrament, of which I also participated. He died on the Friday following the 30th of July, to the universal grief of all who knew or heard of his great zeal."—Evelyn's *Memoirs*, i. 520-21.

to be one of the most boding of them. God in mercy make us sensible of the danger we are in.

I am, with perfect truth,

Yours,

L. JENKINS.

27th. I was at Rotterdam; saw Madame Vandergassen and her daughter; that day the Prince and the Princess were at Dieren. I writ to Sir Lionel Jenkins.

29th. Mr. Rookwood came and acquainted me of the Electoral Prince's going into England, and his being to reside there. The French Ambassador came to see me.

30th. Monsieur Fuen-Mayor told me that he had writ to the Duke de Villa Hermosa; his opinion was to leave out the title of Burgundy, or else the Low Countries were undone.

31st. I went to see the French Ambassador. He put me into his room before him. He still talks of my going into France. He told me the Duke de Bouillon was to lie at his house, but that he should not see Madame de Soissons. Monsieur Van Lewen was with me; he advised me to speak to Van Beuninghen: all depends upon Amster-

dam. I was with Van Beuninghen. He told me he thought the Act would pass, but that we must not give the French Ambassador any suspicion. He saith, the town is well inclined towards us, and that Monsieur Valconier is no more a Frenchman than he is.

August 1st. Monsieur Campricht told me that the Eveque de Beauvais and Monsieur de Vitry were to go into Poland, to endeavour to make peace between that kingdom and the Turk; that Monsieur de Bethune was going into Muscovy upon the same errand, that so the Turk may have his hands free, and fall upon the empire with the greater vigour.[1] If that should be, the Emperor would be incapable of executing the designs that

[1] The intrigues of France were successful, and led to the invasion of Austria by the Turks, and to the siege and battle of Vienna in 1683. "The Turks," says Evelyn, "were likewise in hostility against the German Emperors, almost masters of the Upper Hungary, and drawing towards Vienna. On the other side, the French King, (who 'tis believed brought in the infidels,) distrusting his Spanish and Dutch neighbours, having swallowed up almost all Flanders, pursuing his ambition of a fifth universal monarchy; and all this blood and disorder in Christendom had evidently its rise from our defections at home, in a wanton peace, minding nothing but luxury, ambition, and to procure money for our vices."—15th July, 1683.

are now on foot, though the whole empire were entirely united; so that it is necessary for the King to prevent it, which he may have the better pretence of doing, having been desired to be a mediator between Poland and Muscovy. He told me a story of Monsieur de Vironne and Monsieur Bourmonville, of his being at Barcelona, and of his design of going against the pirates at Salley, and Monsieur de Nouailles against those of Tripoli.

3rd. Mr. Hill was with me. He told me that the Prince would do himself an injury if he gives out, as they say he does, that if the Parliament should exclude his father he would not accept of the crown. Mr. Freeman was with me. He thinks the King will be very unhappy because he saith he will not leave the Duke, and that they will be both undone together.

5th. I came to Dieren.

6th. I went a shooting with the Prince. Coming home, I told him that I thought it was the duty of all his servants to offer their service to him upon all occasions; and now my Lord Ossory being dead, if his Highness thought of nobody else better to supply his place than myself, I should be very glad of that honour. He told me

that he had already thought of me, and intended to have spoken to me of it, but he said he could do nothing in it till the King was made acquainted with it, and approved of it. I told him it was a great satisfaction to me to have his approbation, that, whatever happened afterwards, I should be contented.

8th. The Prince went a hunting, and I went a shooting.

9th. We went after church to see a fine wood. The Count de Flodorp came to dinner: we talked of the business, and he gave me good hopes.

11th. I went with the Prince to Monsieur Flodorp's, and he viewed the fortifications of Zutphen by the way, and a regiment of Sommerdykes, and found great fault that there wanted six men in a company. When I came home he told me that Ronquillos had made a foolish proposition to the Dutch Ambassador, to have the Parliament sit before November. He hath writ an indiscreet letter, and desired to know what he should do.

12th. I went to Hockfoor, and staid there till the 19th, where I saw all sorts of hunting, and in a very fine country; abundance of springs and

woods, and good prospects. One day they reckoned how far the Velewé was about, and they found it to be above 50 leagues; it belonged formerly to the Bishop of Utrecht, and he gave it to a Duke of Guelderland, with a condition to keep his dogs for him. While I was there I writ to my Lord Sunderland, Sir Lionel Jenkins, and several others. I received two packets out of England. The Prince had a letter from the Duke, that told him of the meeting of the Parliament in October, which he seemed to be pleased with.

20th. The Prince went a shooting. In the afternoon I went with Mr. Overkirke to see Rosendale. At night the Princess came from Cleves, much pleased with the entertainment she had had at Mr. Spaen's, two leagues from thence, where she lay all the while. Monsieur Flodorp came; I had a good deal of discourse with him about the lady: he now puts off his coming till December.

21st. The Prince went a stag-hunting, and did not come home till late. Monsieur Spaen and Monsieur Flodorp dined at Dieren: after dinner the two last were in the chamber with me, and told me of a project of entertaining an army at the King's expense, and another by the Dukes of

Brunswick. He talked of the young lady, and seems inclined to the business: he saith he will regulate his affairs according to what I write to him; that he must go to Liege, and when that is done, he will either take her to Rotterdam, or go and fetch her in Zeland: he talks of staying five weeks.

23rd. I came to the Hague. Colonel Fitzpatrick dined with me: he told me of his design of being a Protestant.

24th. The Foreign Ministers were with me. Monsieur Fuen-Mayor seems concerned that the Act will not pass. Monsieur Van Beuninghen told me 'twas not to be done this Assembly, and saith the exchanging of the ratifications is the reason, for now he doth not know what to say to his friends. He would have been glad also that we had forborne till the Spaniards had put themselves into some better condition, which they are backward in doing.

26th. I dined with Fitzpatrick and with Captain Tobias: he told us the miserable condition of the Spaniards; that the French had good ships, though badly trimmed. He does not think the King of France cares for Tangiers, because they

may have Gibraltar and Ceuta, which he pleases; which are both good ports, and may be made islands in a day, and are over one against another.

28th. I rid to Hounslerdyke, and had discourse with the Prince: he saith he is vexed the Act does not pass: he thinks too that Monsieur Van Lewin will not be able to go. I told him the story of Fitzpatrick; he is glad of it. I came back with him in his coach. In the evening I writ to Madame Wylde.

29th. I went to Hounslerdyke. The Prince told me that he thought Monsieur Van Lewin would go into England; that Monsieur Van Beuninghen was against it, because he had a mind to go himself.

30th. I went a shooting with the Prince; and, as we went, he told me he was contented Mr. Colt should resign to his brother, but the company he could not yet dispose of.

31st. There was a meeting between Colonel Fitzpatrick and Dr. Ken. Monsieur Van Lewin came to me, showing that he had a mind to go into England: he will make another attempt about the Act.

MR. SIDNEY TO SIR LEOLINE JENKINS.

Sir,

I writ you word in my last we were like to fail in procuring the Act. I doubt, indeed, it is not to be done this Assembly, though we shall make another attempt, but so privately, that if we do not succeed it shall not come before the public. Colonel Fitzpatrick, having for these six months began to consider that he was not in the right religion, and having read many books, and used all the means to be instructed in the right, is at last convinced that the Protestant religion is the true religion, and this day in my chamber he made a declaration of it to Dr. Ken, the Princess of Orange's Chaplain.

His Majesty was pleased to say that I should come into England when this Assembly was separated, that will be a Saturday come se'nnight; therefore I desire you will do me the favour to speak to the King of it, and send a yacht for me.

THE COUNTESS OF SUNDERLAND TO MR. SIDNEY.

Windsor, August 24th.

I confess I have been to blame in appearance, that I have not writ to you a great while, but

really I have several times begun to write, and have been so oppressed with spleen, that I have not been able to go through. Nay, I have been at this odious place a week and never sent to my mother; but be not alarmed at this, for 'tis my own private affairs that occasions my being so dismal, and nothing of the *public*,[1] for that I think you'll find to your mind, and that you may guess how well it is, I shall only tell you that I take *the Duke to be undone;* that is enough for one letter, I think.

My Lord says that the King will not stir in your business till the Prince of Orange has given his positive answer that my Lord Dunbarton shall not have it, and after that, he will not be engaged for any other but yourself, which, I suppose, makes the thing sure; for, certainly, the Prince cannot do so unfit a thing; the very mention of it amazes people; and it will really do the Prince a great deal of hurt, if he should suffer it. Wherefore, if you were not concerned, you are obliged to hinder it; for his sake, I wish it you extremely for several reasons, and I don't see how it can miss.

[1] The passages in italics are in cipher.

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I am overjoyed that you'll be here so soon; if it be possible, I hope you'll come time enough to be at Althorpe when the King is at Newmarket, for then I shall be there. *My Lord* has fallen again *to play* to a more violent degree than ever, all day and night. It makes the horridest noise in the world; 'tis talked of in all the coffee-houses, and 'tis for such vast *sums: he has been* told of it from several who wish him well, but it has done no good. . . . . .

I have more than ordinary reason to lay this to heart, as you will think when I see you, and tell you all the fair prospect we have of coming to that which would *make us all* . . . you may guess what I mean, and then I am sure you will be of my mind, that this cursed *play* is the plainest obstruction in the world. Now, I do really think, that if you would write him word that you are mighty sorry to hear from England that *he plays* for £5000 *in a night at la Basset;* that it is railed at by his enemies, and of great disadvantage to him, but that you hope it is not true, I fancy this would do good. I am confident it will ten times more than if you were here, for then he would think I desired you, and I am sure he won't, and it

will agree with what his friends have told him here, for 'tis really talked of in the coffee-houses. Now, I am so fully persuaded of your kindness to me, that, without this public concern, my own private, which you know is great in this matter, will obtain of you this mark of your friendship, which you owe both to him and me; but, for God's sake, let this be lodged in your own breast, and let neither him or anybody else ever know what I desire of you. I hope it will not be uneasy to you to do it, and I shall take it mighty kindly.

There's an end of one request. The next is, that you will be sure to bring me for £20 in money such wax lights as you sent me last, only that they may all be of the long sort, four to the pound. I will either send you the money, or pay it you here, which you like best. I beg you won't fail me. I hope you received my letter with the pattern of cloth the Duchess of Portsmouth bid me send you. I wish it were in my power to show you the service and friendship that is in my heart for you. Farewell, make haste to us.

September 1st. The Prince dined here; he told me they would not pass the Act; that Monsieur Van Lewen was mightily pleased with my Lord Sunderland's letters; does resolve to go, but they do not yet know upon what pretence he should go Envoyé or Ambassador. He saith Monsieur hath the greatest mind in the world to go into England. Colonel Fitzpatrick told me his conversation with the Prince; that he said he had more obligations to my Lord Sunderland, and more marks of his friendship, than he had from all the Ministers these ten years.

2nd. Monsieur Sas and Monsieur Buysero dined with me, and told me how kindly the Prince had spoken of me.

4th. The Prince told me his conversation with the French Ambassador. He wondered why Mr. Godolphin did not write to him. He fancies the Duke will be angry with him, and desires me to write to him as much as I dare. I dined with him at Odyke's. He writ to my Lord, that they did not propose the act, and that I should tell him the reason, which is, that Amsterdam would not consent to it; that they would not be persuaded but that it might do them a hurt, and they could not

see any good. He proposed Monsieur Van Lewen to go into England.

5th. I was at Hounslerdyke; and the Prince told me that he had thought of an expedient that would do well, seeing that they would not pass the Act, which was, that Monsieur Van Lewen should have instructions to assure the King that they would inviolably keep the alliance that is betwixt him and them, and also that between Spain and them, and to give the King thanks for the alliance that he had made with Spain. This Monsieur Van Lewen approved of, and so did the Pensioner, who is to draw up the instructions; and Monsieur Van Lewen is to make this known to the King in a memorial. Monsieur Boreel, who is thought of the French faction, said, that if they had made the alliance with France, they should certainly have had war before now; and another thing he said, which is not so well, which is, that if they should enter into any new engagements, they should yet have a war. This project the Pensioner thinks he can pass with the States of Holland. However, he can do it with the Secret Committee.

6th. I was to take my leave of the Prince. He told me two of his chief businesses were to con-

cert with the Count de Waldeck about the project of keeping up an army, and when that is done the King may take it or leave it as he pleases. The other business is the match for my Lady Ann, which he intends to do, if it be possible. He thinks it will be necessary to give a bribe to the chief Minister, Monsieur Plat, 5 or £6000.

7th. I was with the Pensioner. He told me that this design that they had would be in all points as good for us as the Act; but he desired me not to write nor say anything of it till he had been with me, which he would not fail of this week; that he would speak of it to Monsieur Van Beuninghen, but not as a matter that was to be proposed to his town, for then he was sure it would not pass; and if he does not approve, he will pass it in the generality.

10th. Monsieur Van Lewen was with me. He told me he desired a yacht to be at the Brill on the 15th of October. He saith his instructions have been shewn to Monsieur Van Beuninghen, and that he approves of them, and will make them yet stronger, they not knowing what he does, and they will pass to-morrow in the Assembly. In them there are all assurances imaginable of their keep-

ing the peace between England and them, and between them and Spain. They give the King thanks for the alliance he hath made with Spain, showing how much the King did concern himself in the preservation of the Low Countries and of the peace. He thinks it will be more effectual than the Act, or else he should go very unwillingly. He told me Monsieur Van Beuninghen would have had in his instructions that he should do every thing the Court would have him do, but he does not approve of that, for he loves to keep his liberty, and can do the King more service by it. In the evening I was with Monsieur de Fuen-Mayor; he told me that Monsieur de Rounquillos and Fonseca were not good friends, therefore he did advise that Rounquillos should send for him over, or else it might do more hurt than good. At ten o'clock he came to tell that eight men-of-war had come before Ostend, and taken a ship of theirs; he concludes them to be Brandenburgers, and is afraid that they will meet with the Prince of Parma.

11th. I was with Monsieur Alvin. I told him my opinion of the Duke; then we talked of the Elector of Brandenburg and of his fleet. He

saith that it is one Rolle, a broken merchant of Flushing, who hath put him upon all this. I was with the Pensioner in the afternoon; he told me he had sent for Monsieur Odyke; that the Deputy for Zealand made disputes about Van Lewen going. He said also he would not have me go till Monday, because Monsieur Van Beuninghen had not yet made his amendments upon the instructions. I offered to stay, but he told me if I would appoint my Secretary to be with him at one o'clock it would be as well. He talked a good deal of the Duke. Afterwards, I took my leave of the Princess.

12th. I came on board and received letters from England, which hindered Colonel Fitzpatrick from going into England.

13th. All we could do was to get over the Flats, there being no wind.

15th. We came to Gravesend.

16th. I went to London, and found my Lord Sunderland; he told me their whole designs, which I approved of extremely. We went to Sir William Temple, and talked of it there; then to my Lord Halifax, and found him in good-humour and willing to comply; he will be a great help.

17th. I was with the Duchess. I writ to the Prince, and supt at my Lord Sunderland's. In the morning I told my Lord Dumbarton my opinion.

18th. I dined with Mr. Montague, and heard all his designs. I went to Sir William Jones, and informed him of the good designs we had.

19th. My Lord Halifax was with me; he told me his designs and his opinion. I went with Lord Sunderland to Sheen, where I met Sir Henry Capell; at night I saw the King's speech.

20. I was with my Lady Harvey and my brother Algernon. In the afternoon I went to the Lord Chancellor.

21st. I writ to the Prince and Fitzpatrick, but they were forgot. I saw Sir Thomas Armstrong.

22nd. There was an interview among several of our friends.

26th. I delivered the Prince's letter to the King. I spoke of all the affairs of Holland, and of the command of the troops. In the afternoon I was with the Duke, and after we had talked of foreign affairs, he told me of the design there was of impeaching him.

28th. I dined at Cheveley. The Duchess went

to Cambridge. I saw the race between Gee and Tucker; and afterwards was at the Duchess' ball.[1]

Oct. 1st, 2nd. I staid at Newmarket. We heard of the Prince of Orange's fall.

4th. I came to London. Sir Thomas Armstrong was with me, and was very well pleased with what I told him.

5th. Mr. Hyde spoke to me of the Prince's coming, and is very angry. I went to my Lord President and to my Lord Chancellor, and spoke to them both very freely.

I dined with Mr. Montague, and found he had a very great mind to be taken in. I writ to Monsieur Sas, Monsieur Buysero, and the Prince. Lord Sunderland and Halifax met at my house.

6th. I was with Sir W. Jones, and found him very angry. I visited the Ministers.

9th. I was with the Duke of Monmouth. I talked to him of all our affairs. In the evening I was with my Lord Shaftesbury. The King came to town. D— and D—[sic] met.

[1] Evelyn attended one of the October Meetings at Newmarket ten years before. "Leaving Euston," he says, "I lodged at Newmarket, where I found the jolly blades, racing, dancing, feasting, and revelling. More resembling a luxurious and abandoned rout than a Christian court."—*Mem.* i. 446.

10th. I was at St. Martin's, and heard Dr. Burnet preach. My Lord and Godolphin told Mr. Hyde all their designs. After dinner he spoke to the King, upon which he would not have the Duke spoken of at the Committee, which was appointed to consider the King's speech. The heads were read, and given to my Lord Chancellor to put into form. The King supt at my Lord Sunderland's, and afterwards was two hours with ——.

11th. I settled my going into Holland with Lord S.; he said I could not go till after a week of the Parliament. My Lord Chancellor was with the Duke. My Lord S. and Godolphin were with him, and told him their minds very plainly, but they could not persuade him to anything. I was with the Duchess, and found her in ill-humour towards the Prince.

12th. I was with the Duke. The Lord President, Privy Seal, and Worcester were with him. The Committee sate about the Duke. I writ to Monsieur Sas to say when I should be in Holland.

13th. The Council met about the Duke; there was a great debate what should be done with him; some were for his going away, others for his staying till 'twas seen what the Parliament would do;

and others were for the King's sticking to him. It was carried that he should not go, which gave his party great hopes.[1] I took physick.

14th. We were mightily out of humour, and

[1] The following is the account which James himself gives of all these proceedings; it fills up the meagre outline of the Journal.—"The Ministers had some courage left till a Parliament stared them in the face; and, had the King been able to live without that assembly, the Duke had found more friends, and he himself had been better served; but, when once the time of its sitting approached, all eyes were fixed upon it, and every head turned by its influence. In October following, while the Court was at Newmarket, the Duke began to find the effects of this; his being sent away again to be more discoursed of than ever. Upon which his Highness spoke to my Lord Sunderland and Mr. Godolphin, who assured him there was no alteration of measures, and that his Majesty thought of no such thing; but their coldness soon after to the Duke's friends made him suspect there was more in it than they pretended; and (he) was at last convinced of the change when, the day after the King's arrival in town, they both came to Mr. Hide, and told him they thought it for his Majesty's service the Duke should go again out of England; and the next day told the Duke himself the same thing; who upon discourse found they had been determined to this by my Lord Essex and Halifax, the first whereof voted for his going to Flanders; the latter only for his absenting from Court. The Duke says he was not astonished that those two Lords should give such advice, but that my Lord Sunderland and Mr. Godolphin should concur with them in it surprised him to the last degree, especially since they never gave him the least advertisement thereof, but, on the contrary, bore him in hand with continual

thought our matters would go ill. That night we supt with the King. There was only to be particular people, but my Lord Feversham came in.

15th. I brought my Lord Sunderland and Mr.

assurances there was no such thing intended; he told them he was not conscious to himself to have given them any reason to treat him so, but had used a greater condescension to them than ever he had done to any in their station before.

"These supports failing him so unawares, struck him with a worse apprehension, and made him suspect the King himself began to waver; and accordingly he soon found, by discourses on that subject, that his Majesty now doubted whether he could stand by him or no. The Duke represented to him his constant and late engagement to the contrary, but found him so changed that it gave him great reason now at last to apprehend what he had been oft told, but never believed, that his Majesty would abandon him in the end.

"He put (the King), therefore, in mind how my Lord Shaftesbury had given his Majesty's instability for a landmark, as he called it, to dissuade all men from trusting or relying upon him, and that he was pleased to reply to it, 'He was glad that Lord Shaftesbury had put such mark upon him, for he would prove him a liar, and so turn it against himself.' His Majesty could make no reply to this, nor to the complaint his Highness made of his two Ministers' conduct towards him. Nevertheless, the Duke told him, if his Majesty thought his absence would be for his service, he would go to any part of the world; but believed it would have quite a contrary effect; that it would discourage his friends, hearten his enemys, and ruin his credit. Wherefore, he begged of him, before he came to a positive resolution, to advise with those who were no ways biased in their councils; whereas my Lord

Montague together. I dined at Lord Mulgrave's. At night I writ to the Prince. The Queen ill.

16th. I was with Sir Harry Capel and brother Algernon. An extraordinary council was called, and there the King resolved to send his brother

Sunderland and Mr. Godolphin were influenced, he feared, one by his three uncles, the other by his brother-in-law; that my Lord Essex his principles as to government were too well known, and his late reconciliation with my Lord Shaftesbury made it without doubt. That my Lord Halifax was an atheist, and had hitherto been no good friend to monarchy. In conclusion, the King promised he would take the advice of his Privy Council, which accordingly he did, and a much greater part was against it; but the King, and those who had most credit with him, continuing in their former opinion, cunningly moved such questions in council as they saw would both distract and terrify the rest, as whether the King should break the Parliament if it should impeach the Duke, and such like perplexing suppositions, which diverted their coming to any resolution in reference to the matter in hand, and made those who were against the Duke's going be silent. Whereupon his Majesty proposed his returning again to Scotland, as the best expedient, and said he would advise him to it, which he did accordingly the Sunday following; but the Duke had the same answer ready he had formerly made him, that he neither thought it was for his Majesty's service, nor had he any business of his own in that country, but that if his Majesty thought fit to command him, his obedience was the same it had ever been, and if so desired he would please to write a letter to the Council of Scotland, acquainting them he had commanded his repair thither, to look after his affairs in that Kingdom, which was done accordingly."—Clarke's *Life of James II.*, i., 596.

into Scotland. The King told the Duke all his people were out of heart. I was with Mr. Montague in the park.

17th. Lord Sunderland was with the Duke; he complained of his not giving him notice of the change; he hath suspected it a long time, and dated it at the time of making the Alliance.[1] The Duchess of Portsmouth puts on a good humour, and resolves to go, though she be not well. Harbord told me he suspected Montague was for the Duke of Monmouth, and some others. Lord Halifax of the same mind.

19th. I writ to the Prince. People took their leave of the Duchess. She received them all in bed. The Duke went away. The King and seve-

[1] The interest taken by the Duchess of Portsmouth in the passing of the Exclusion Bill is thus accounted for by Burnet. "It was proposed to her, that if she could bring the King to the Exclusion and to some other popular things, the Parliament would go next to prepare a bill for securing the King's person, in which a clause might be carried, that the King might declare the successor to the throne, as had been done in Henry VIII. time . . . . And since the Lady Portsmouth found she was so absolutely mistress of the King's spirit, she might reckon that if such an act would be carried, the King would be prevailed upon to declare her son (the Duke of Richmond) his successor."

ral went down the river with him; he dined afterwards at the Duchess of Portsmouth's, and was in good humour.

21st. The Parliament met; they chose Williams for their Speaker; he was recommended by my Lord Russel.

22nd. He was presented to the King and accepted. The King was in an ill-humour, having ill things put into his head. The Duchess of Portsmouth unsatisfied.

24th. Our affairs went ill. The Duchess of Portsmouth crying all day for fear the Parliament should be dissolved.[1] The House was taken up

[1] When the Duchess of Cleveland had a point to gain with Charles, she had recourse either to smiles or to rage as the case might require. The Duchess of Portsmouth relied upon the softer influence of tears; this is alluded to in the following lines, which form a part of a poem called an Essay on Satire, supposed to be the joint production of the Duke of Buckingham (Sheffield) and Dryden.

"Yet sauntering Charles, between his beastly brace,
Meets with dissembling still in either place,
Affected humour, or a painted face.
In loyal libels we have often told him
How one has jilted him, the other sold him;
How that affects to laugh, how this to weep,
But who can rail so long as he can sleep?

with reading petitions. I spoke to the King about going. Sir L. Jenkins showed me the answer to Monsieur Van Lewen's memorial.

25th. My Lord Russel moved for the exclusion of the Duke. Dangerfield told a story very prejudicial to the Duke, my Lord Peterborough, and my Lord Privy Seal.[1]

> Was ever Prince by two at once misled,
> False, foolish, old, ill-natured, and ill-bred?"

This poem came out in November, 1679, and in revenge Lord Rochester, who was attacked in it, instigated, as it is said, by the Duchess of Portsmouth, hired ruffians to attack and beat Dryden. The most curious circumstance and most characteristic of Charles, is that which is mentioned by Lord Rochester in a letter to his friend, Henry Saville. He says, "I have sent you herewith a libel, in which my own share is not the least. The King, having perused it, is no ways dissatisfied with his."

[1] "As soon as the members had taken the oaths, Dangerfield appeared at the bar to accuse the presumptive heir to the crown. Though he stood there with the accumulated infamy of sixteen convictions on his head, though his testimony had been refuted by the verdicts of three successive juries, he was received with approbation, and listened to with credulity. He solemnly affirmed that the Duke of York had been privy to his imposture of the Presbyterian Plot; had given him instructions to forge and distribute the lists and commissions; had made him a present of twenty guineas with a promise of more substantial reward; had turned into ridicule his scruple of shedding the King's blood; and had commanded him to perse-

27th. The right for petitioning was asserted, and a vote made to stand by the King in preserving his person and government, and securing the protestant religion both at home and abroad. The King not at all pleased with the day.

28th. I asked the King his commands, and he immediately fell upon the proceedings in Parliament with great heat.[1] Every body unsatisfied

vere without dreading the consequences. Before the indignation excited by this disclosure had subsided, Lord Russel rose and moved that it should be the first care of the House effectually to repress Popery and prevent a Popish successor. He was succeeded by Sir H. Capel."—Lingard, xii., 238. "It had been artfully arranged that this charge against the Duke should immediately precede the introduction of the Bill of Exclusion. But his testimony failed to produce the desired effect, for Lord Peterborough, who was named as a party, vindicated himself so victoriously, that even Essex, one of the opposite leaders, pronounced the informer unworthy of credit." Lingard, xii., 243.

[1] Well he might; for Sidney, though his envoy at the Hague, and holding the office of Master of the Robes, had, according to Rapin, though he makes no mention of it in his Diary, not only voted, but spoken in favour of the exclusion of his brother.

On the debate on the illegal discharge of the Middlesex Jury, by Chief Justice Scroggs, November 23, 1680, Mr. H. Sidney rose and said: "Sir, I would beg leave to observe to you, because I think it may be necessary to be considered by your committee, what an opinion was given not long since by some of these judges about printing; which was that

with him. At night we met in my Lord Sunderland's chamber, and talked about the Prince's coming over. They thought it necessary, and I am to try his mind, and send an express about it. Mr. May told us a story of him which he had from Sir T. Duncombe, and he from the Master of the Rolls. The Commons were with the King with an address; he gave them a good answer,[1] and they hurried on.

printing of news might be prohibited by law; and accordingly a proclamation issued out. I will not take on me to censure the opinion as illegal, but leave it to your further consideration. But I remember there was a consultation held by the judges a little before; and they gave their opinion that they knew not of any way to prevent printing by law; because the act for that purpose was expired. Upon which some judges were put out and new ones put in, and then this other opinion was given. These things are worthy of a serious examination. For if treasurers may raise money by shutting up the Exchequer, borrowing of the bankers, or retrenchments; and the judges make new laws by an ill-construction, or an ill-execution of old ones; I conclude that Parliament will soon be found useless, and the liberty of the people an inconvenience to the Government. And, therefore, I think, Sir, you have been well moved to endeavour to pass your censure on some of these illegal proceedings by a vote."—*Parliamentary Hist.*

[1] Friday, January 7th. His Majesty's gracious message to the Commons in Parliament, January 4, 1680, sent on Tuesday last, and was read as followeth.

Charles Rex,

"His Majesty received the address of this House with all the disposition they could wish to comply with their reason-

29th was my Lord Mayor's Show. There the Duke of Monmouth had great respect shown to him. The King said he had hopes of this Parliament. The House was employed about Sir Francis

able desires, but, upon perusing it, he is sorry to see their thoughts so wholly fixed upon the Bill of Exclusion as to determine that all other remedies for the suppressing of Popery will be ineffectual. His Majesty is confirmed in opinion against that Bill by the judgment of the House of Lords, who refuted it. He therefore thinks that there remains nothing more for him to say in answer to the address of this House, but to recommend to them the consideration of all other means for the preservation of the Protestant religion, in which they have no reason to doubt of his concurrence, whenever they shall be presented to him in a Parliamentary way; and that they would consider the present state of the kingdom, as well as the condition of Christendom, in such a manner as may enable him to preserve Tangier, and secure his Alliances abroad, and the peace and settlement at home."—Kennett's *Hist. of England*, iii., 379.

Tangier was granted to Charles II. in part of dower on his marriage with Catherine of Portugal, having been taken from the Moors by Alphonso, fifth King of Portugal, and it was a possession esteemed in those days of great importance. Sir W. Temple, however, never thought it so; in one of his speeches delivered in 1679, he says, "If the mole and the town could be blown up into air, or otherwise reduced to its first chaos, I think, considering the charge it will cost in keeping, England would not be much the worse for it." This was done afterwards. Lord Dartmouth was sent out with an expedition in 1683, to blow up the place and to bring back the garrison.

Wilkins, who was turned out. The King appointed the Committee of Intelligence to give him an account of what was done in the House; before, he heard nothing but lies.

30th. A committee was appointed to look into the journals of the House in the matter of the plot, and to make a report to the House. There was a Portuguese there to tell what he had done before in the House of Peers. I dined with Sir L. Jenkins, and went with him to Sir W. Temple, who talked to me about the troops, and the measures the Prince was to take. I went afterwards to Mr. Montague, where I found Titus and Sir W. Jones. He has come into the House for Plymouth.

31st. The resolution was taken of the Prince coming over; I am to let him know the whole state of our affairs. I was with the Duchess of Portsmouth; she spoke freely to me of all matters, by which we concluded that she began to cool. I was with Sir William Temple, and told him our design; he seemed to approve, but came to no resolution. I went to the Dutch Ambassador; he desired me to let him know every thing, and that he would expect orders. I was again with Lord

Sunderland and Mr. May; both unsatisfied with the King, and think the King will do nothing, but they rely much upon the Prince's coming.

November 1st. I came on board the Catherine yacht, and that night lay below Gravesend.

3rd. We came into the Maese, and landed at Maeslandsluys, and at five came to the Hague; at seven I was with the Prince. I told him all our affairs, and endeavoured to persuade him to come over, but I could not prevail. He told me he saw plainly that he was very likely to be deprived of his right in England, and at the same time to be undone here; but if the stake that he hath in this world were ten times greater, it should all go, rather than that he would save it by doing an ill thing. He thinks excluding the Duke an injustice, and he would not advise the King to do it for all the world; he believes he shall be the first that will be undone, but he hopes God will give him patience, and have a care of him in all conditions. He spoke admirably, and it would have charmed any body to have heard him; in fine, he is convinced he may be a great Prince if he does what he is advised to, and that he shall be undone if he does it not; but that he will rather chose that than do a thing against his conscience.

4th was the Prince's birthday. I was with him to wish him joy, and afterwards asked him if he was still of the same mind; and he said, "Yes." The Pensioner, he said, would willingly have him quit the Duke, and hath writ his opinion to Monsieur Van Lewen. We danced at Monsieur Bentem's.

7th. I went to church and dined with the Prince.

8th. Monsieur Vourschot and a great deal of company dined with me.

11th. The Prince and Princess supt with me. We received the bill against the Duke.

SIR L. JENKINS TO MR. SIDNEY.

Whitehall, 5th November.

Sir,

I hope this will find you well arrived at the Hague. I wish I had something more acceptable to send you than the Bill against the Duke. It was read yesterday, and will be read to-morrow the second time. 'Tis not like to meet any considerable opposition in one House; 'tis to exclude the Duke from succeeding, if the Crown should happen to descend in his time, and it is to banish

him in the mean time. It does not provide or mention who shall succeed the King, whom God in mercy preserve to reign long over us.

I hear Sir Ellis Leighton is still on that side; you will have, I know, an eye to him.

COUNTESS OF SUNDERLAND TO MR. SIDNEY.

November 8th.

I am very impatient to hear that you got safe to your journey's end, which, I hope, you will be so kind as to let me know of as soon as possible. I did not write to you by Tuesday's post, though there was much news, because I thought by this there would be more to send with it. And I was not out; for, as the proposal for bringing in a Bill of Exclusion met on Tuesday with but 3 Noes, the Bill which was brought in yesterday for excluding the Duke had but one No. The votes, which are now by order daily printed, shall be sent to you to-night, and constantly every post; so that my letters need not be long with Parliament news.

Every moment shows us plainly that what you were *desired to press is more necessary, and that, if*

the Prince will not come, he must never think of any thing *here*, and he may as reasonably on a point of conscience resolve to *refuse* any *right that belongs to him;* for he can no more think himself accessory to this exclusion of the Duke nor charge himself with it than I can. The thing is already done, *and his part is only to come*, and prevent the confusion which otherwise we must of necessity fall into, and, to strengthen you with arguments, I must not omit letting you know one thing, that the City is resolved, the moment *the Bill has passed the House of Commons*, to come down and *petition the King;* when it is judged what must follow! If there be nothing to fix on, 'tis certain *the Duke of Monmouth must be the King;* and if the *Prince thinks it not worth going over a threshold for a kingdom*, I know not why he should expect any body should for him. The case is much changed since you were here; and a day's loss of his being here, for aught I know, may make it for ever *useless to the Prince:* therefore as he pleases. I will admit of no more ifs and ands. I would willingly go further than Holland to tell you my whole mind on this matter, because I wish you mighty well, and fancy if you could but see all that is to be seen,

the Prince would not be such an ass; and so farewell.

November 22nd. I writ to Sir L. Jenkins; and, as soon as I had received letters out of England, I went to the Court, but, not finding the Prince, I went to Monsieur de Fuen-Mayor, and he told me the miserable condition they were in if we disagreed in England, and how likely it was, seeing that the Lords had thrown out the Bill. From thence the Prince sent for me, and I found him mighty melancholy at the news we heard, and concluding we were all undone, and reflecting upon his journey, saying, what a pretty figure he should have made.

THE COUNTESS OF SUNDERLAND TO MR. SIDNEY.

November 16th.

I have been and still am so extreme ill with a cough that my letter will be but short, and yet I believe there will, in a few lines, be enough to mortify you. In the first place, poor little Duchess of Southampton is dead of the smallpox, which

every creature is sad for. In the next, every thing is *in the* most *sad case*. *The King acts* as if *he* were *mad*. The *Bill* was yesterday *cast out of the Lords' House*, and our friend *is* in great *disgrace for* giving *his vote for* the *Bill*. All things are coming to the last *confusion*, in all appearance; but yet the *Commons* are the patientest, prudentest persons ever was. By the next post 'tis probable I may tell you more particularly, but at present *Lord Halifax* is *the King's favourite*, and *hated* more than ever the *Lord Treasurer* was, and has really deserved it. For *he* has *undone* all, and now *the Prince* may do as he pleases; for I believe his game has been, by his prudence and whatever you'll call it, lost—and he'll wish too late *his conscience* had not been *so tender;* but all this keep to yourself till you hear again. My Lord bids me tell you, and 'tis true, that his head aches so he could not write: as for news, 'tis most of it printed.

The Bill for Exclusion was yesterday flung out of the Lords' House, for which the House of Commons have to-day adjourned, and will not move. What they'll do to-morrow, I know not; but yesterday they had resolved to take Tangier into their care, but I believe they'll think of other matters to-

morrow. My Lord Halifax, who is the man has had the great share in this noble deed of flinging out the Bill, did to-day offer an expedient for the House, which was banishing the Duke for five years, in case the King lived so long. My Lord Shaftesbury offered another, which was divorcing the King. My Lord of Essex a third, which was for all the nobility to associate themselves in defence against popery. These with other heads are given to a committee to frame together to see what can be made of it.

I have no more to say but that Lord Sunderland has gained immortal fame, which is better than any thing he can lose — and so farewell. Every day is like to furnish news enough.

THE PRINCE OF ORANGE TO SIR L. JENKINS.[1]

22d November, 1680.

I am much obliged to you for continuing to inform me of what passes in England, but I am vexed to learn with what animosity they proceed against the Duke. God bless him! and grant that the King and his Parliament may agree, without which

[1] This letter has been published by Dalrymple.—i. 374.

I foresee infallibly an imminent danger for the King, the royal family, and the greatest part of Europe.

All affairs here are, as every where else, in suspense to see the issue of this great session. May the Divine Goodness end it for his own glory, the good and satisfaction of the King, of his royal family, and of the good party in Europe! I am and always will be, without reserve,

Entirely yours.

THE DOWAGER COUNTESS SUNDERLAND TO MR. SIDNEY.

November 19th.

If I should not write, you having bid me do it, you might think me sick, or more disturbed than I am, though I confess I am a good deal, that my friends cannot go together in one great point. I am full of my Lord Halifax, and will tell what perhaps nobody else will—that, a day or two before the Duke's bill was carried to the Lords, one of the great actors came to him as a friend, I suppose, to tell him if he did speak against it he would be impeached by the House of Commons, or an address made to the King to remove him from his

great place of Privy Counsellor; he answered, neither threatenings nor promises should hinder him from speaking his mind. How he did it, you who know may judge. In a point, he says, he has studied more than ever he did any, and would have been glad if he could have gone the popular and safe way, he had company enough with him—but my Lord of Shaftesbury and Mr. Montague have singled him out of the herd of sixty-three that were of his mind, to desire to remove him from the King, having given no reason yet but that common fame said he had been for proroguing the Parliament, and having very great parts, which made him the more dangerous. Your friend, Mr. Herbert, said, other Lords had been of the mind for Parliaments, but they had given satisfaction, as it was begun by Montague. And what followed showed it to be so perfectly malice that it made 98 for him. A great many went out, fourscore they say, and one hundred and nineteen were for the address. What they will put in it I know not, they must go to their invention. As he came out of the Lords' House, he was told that the House of Commons was upon this debate, which was very long. He said he would go home to dinner. He

did not speak with one man, because they should not say he was making friends, and so he did. In the afternoon his house was full of House of Commons' men. My son was there at one time—that is the thorn in my side, though in every thing else they agree; but it cannot be as I would have it, so long as my son is well with Lord Shaftesbury.

Halifax has desired the King to let him go—they will come much nearer to his Majesty's concerns than my Lord Halifax. My nephew, Pelham, voted for him, Sir W. Jones against him, but did not speak. In short, he says he will speak his mind, and not be hanged so long as there is law in England. I am not well—pardon this narrative. I were a beast if I were not concerned for so perfect and constant a good friend. You shall soon hear from me again. I love you with all my heart.

D. S.

SIR L. JENKINS TO MR. SIDNEY.

Whitehall, 23 November.

Sir,

I failed to give you a line by the last post, and have nothing worth sending by this. The House

divided yesterday about the wording of the Address, against my Lord Halifax. 101 were for recommitting it, that is, throwing it out; and 213 for retaining it. This day 't was resolved to have the Attorney-General to attend the House of Commons to-morrow, and to give an account what warrant he had for the drawing up a Proclamation for the sitting of the Parliament. They fell likewise most severely upon the Judges of the King's Bench, for rejecting a petition in Trinity term last, from the Grand Jury of Middlesex, for the sitting of the Parliament, and most especially for dismissing the same Grand Jury, when they were upon the point of presenting the Court with a presentment against the Duke. Thus their time is spent, and yet Christendom is sinking.

The Spanish Ambassador hath news that we have killed 2000 Moors before Tangiers, and recovered all our ground that they had taken from us; but the same news says, we have lost our brave General, Sir Palmer Fairbone.

I am yours, &c.

24th. Monsieur Blaiswick and others were with me, full of discontent for the news they heard out

of England. In the evening the Prince told me the States would desire a conference with me, and advised me to pretend to be not well, and then only the Pensioner and another would come to me, and then he would speak more openly. He advises me to desire it in writing, my memory being not good. The Prince saith he never saw such a consternation as there is here upon the news that came yesterday. The States have been with him, and are almost out of their wits.

25th. The Pensioner and Mr. Munro were with me; he delivered the sense of the States in a long speech, which I desired to have in writing.

26th. He sent it to me, and, as soon as I could, I got it copied. I sent it to my Lord Sunderland, and another to Secretary Jenkins. I writ to them both.

MR. SIDNEY TO THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

My Lord,

On Tuesday, December 3rd, in the evening, the letters of the 16th came to us here, and in it the news of the Lords having thrown out the Bill that was sent them from the Commons for the excluding of the Duke. The next morning I heard from all

hands the great trouble and consternation that were among these people upon it. Several of the States coming to me, crying they were lost and ruined, that they had rejected all other alliances, and thrown themselves entirely upon England; and now they saw there was like to be such a disunion, that they did almost despair of any support or assistance from thence. I said all I could to satisfy them, and to give them hopes that our affairs would go well.

The day after, which was Thursday, the secret Committee for the foreign affairs sent to desire a conference with me. I sent them word again, that I had taken physic, and was very sorry I could not wait upon them; upon which they ordered the Pensioner and Monsieur Munro to come to me in the name of the States, to let me know what they had to say to me. At three o'clock they came and did it accordingly, and desired me withal that I would represent it to his Majesty in the best manner I could. I told them there should be nothing wanting on my part; and because, in a business of this consequence, I would be as exact as it was possible, and my memory not being good, I desired he would give me the discourse he had made in

writing. He said I should have it, and this morning he sent me a copy of it, which you will now receive, and another to Mr. Secretary Jenkins.

This morning, two of Amsterdam were with me, to let me know the trouble and concern they were in there. The actions in the East India Company are fallen. The obligations do so too, and several other marks are seen of their fears and apprehensions that our affairs will go ill; and they are the more concerned, because they have very lately refused all offers that were made to them by France, and were resolved wholly to stick to England. And, I dare confidently say, every body who knows anything of this country will say the same, that for these many years the United Provinces have not been so perfectly in the interest of England as they all are at this time; and it would be a very sad thing to force this people to take measures contrary to their own inclinations, that will certainly cause their destruction, which they must be obliged to do if they do not agree at home.

When the Pensioner had ended his discourse, he pulled out a letter from his pocket, which he had received just before from a considerable person at Paris. Pray, saith he, read this, and consider

whether we have not reason to be concerned, and to speak as we do. He said he would send me an extract of it, which you shall have. Great joy at Monsieur D'Avaux.

THE DOWAGER COUNTESS OF SUNDERLAND TO MR. SIDNEY.

November 25th.

You may, perhaps, hear from me some little truths that others have not leisure to write. I believe I was warm when I writ last with the malice to my Lord Halifax. My son told me that they did repent it, and were ashamed of it; but, more than that, Tom Pelham, who must be violent, or not live with father Jones, told me the major part of the House was ashamed and sorry for it, but would not venture their credit for what they were indifferent to. So they went with the address, and yesterday the King sent them word my Lord Halifax was of his counsel, and he did know no reason why he should not be. If they did, the law was open, and the Parliament sitting, and they might proceed. How they took the encouragement I know not; 'tis an answer as new as the

charge, which Tom Pelham owns to be without precedent. I name him because of the way he goes.

I could tell a hundred other things. My Lord Cavendish desired them to let one alone they had nothing against for those they had. My Lord Shaftesbury disowns having anything to do in it, and my Lord Russell. I heard 'twas Montague and the two lawyers, Jones and Winnington, who show their profession.

I wish with all my heart the bill had passed, that they might not make that excuse for doing nothing for the King; but I fear that it will soon appear that those persons who have now most power would leave the King none. Some think theirs will not be very lasting. My Lord Shaftesbury says he does no more understand the House of Commons than he does the Court. He does lose ground. Montague was so ashamed, he did not say one word when the second debate was about carrying the address against my Lord Halifax, or laying it aside.

By a mistake of a figure in a note the first day, I writ you a lie: no less than a hundred less against him than there was. There was less dif-

ference the last time. If they say any more, he is ready to answer for himself. I tell him he would be talking. I believe it will do him good in the general, it was so malicious. One asked what shall we charge him with? Montague said, with being an enemy to his King and country. Winnington said: Let us take heed of that, we cannot prove it. Mr. Herbert's testimony, that some Lords were penitent and gave ample satisfaction, pleased nobody.

Yesterday, the Duchess of Portsmouth went in her own coach with my Lady Sunderland, Lady Newport, and Mrs. Crofts, to dine with our cousin Cheeke in the Tower. She may go where she will now she is a favourite of the House of Commons. She dined at my son's a few days ago, and after dinner the King came in as he used to do. I hope he is not angry. A great many who differ from my Lord Halifax as to the bill say few besides him that come within Whitehall could decide the House at this time. They are now upon Seymour. My Lord Shaftesbury has laid down his design to divorce the King. He said he found it would not do.

My dear Mr. Sidney, take this ugly scribble in

good part; 'tis so dark, though at noon, that I can neither see nor feel. Some things lie heavy at my heart. If you were in my corner you should know all my secrets. I durst trust you, and love you very well.

D. S.

THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND TO MR. SIDNEY.

November 26th.

I have kept your express here till now, hoping to be able to send you some good news; but, growing to despair of it, I think it to no purpose any longer. You will see by all our proceedings how unlikely it is we should come to such an agreement amongst ourselves as is necessary to secure us from all those miseries which we seem exposed to. For my own part, I am in danger of losing the King's good opinion by that which I thought myself obliged to do for his service, and to be thought less zealous in it than some others, who are not generally thought very careful of him or of his interests. When you left us, I was convinced nothing would do but what I find by your letter cannot be. So that we must expect our

good from Heaven only. Pray let me hear how you do, and that you are kind to yours,

SUNDERLAND.

30th. I writ for a yacht to Sir L. Jenkins. The Prince told me he had writ to Monsieur Van Lewen and Sir L. Jenkins against the limitations, and sent the Duke word what he had writ, to which he is impatient to know what answer he shall have. Wesely sent me word he had one here that the Duke desired should be our ensign, and therefore hoped I would not recommend another.

December 1st. A great deal of company dined with me. I was with the French Ambassador. He was at Court. I heard that Madame de Wielde was sick.

THE PRINCE OF ORANGE TO SIR L. JENKINS.[1]

You know I have always wished a good intelligence between the King and his Parliament; and that I wished to have been able to contribute to it. You will therefore easily judge in what trouble and chagrin I am to see that so great a blessing is

[1] This letter has been published by Dalrymple.—i. 375.

not as yet according to my wishes. I must also own to you that I was much surprised to learn of mitigations of the royal authority being spoken of, in case the Crown should fall to a Papist. I hope that his Majesty will not incline to suffer a thing to be done so prejudicial to all the royal family: and, although they spread about that this will not take place, except with regard to a King of that religion, and would be of no consequence to Kings of the Protestant religion, it must not be imagined that, if they had once taken away from the Crown such considerable prerogatives as are talked of, they would ever return again. Therefore I entreat you to represent this in my name to the King; and to beg of his Majesty, on my part, that he will not consent to a thing so prejudicial to all those who have the honour to be of his family. This is a matter of conscience, I am obliged to say.

I entreat you to let me know what answer you get.

MR. HASTINGS TO MR. SIDNEY.

London, December 4th.

Sir,

Troubles to you of this nature I know are more considerable than to persons void of all employ-

ments, which makes me humbly crave your pardon, for, knowing my fault, I yet am guilty. When I had the honour to see you last, if you please to remember, I did desire your assistance in an affair I would willingly give £1000 for. If it be impossible to be had, I would beseech your good word to the Prince of Orange for some other employment in those troops. It is no new thing to recommend an officer over any of their heads in those forces; for Mr. Cannon was preferred Lieutenant-Colonel, and Silliard, Major, over all the Captains' heads; as was Lieutenant-Colonel H. Loyd to Wesely's regiment, over the Major and all the Captains, and, I believe, many others, if you will please to enquire; for, if you think me worthy of your favour, I will endeavour never to disparage it, and, if they have occasion at any time for recruits, I do believe my interest may be better than Mr. Wesely's, unless for Irish.

I was this day at Westminster, where I heard bad news for my Lord Stafford, who is found guilty of treason, for which (it is believed by all) he will lose his head within a week; and all of his rank who are impeached by the House of Commons will meet with the same fate. I will not venture upon

any more politics, but beseech your favour in this business, which shall be with all gratitude acknowledged by

Your obedient humble servant,

HENRY HASTINGS.

December 3d. I writ to Sir L. Jenkins the story of the French Ambassador at Court.

Sir,

All the discourse we have here at present is, of what happened a Wednesday night, at Court. The French Ambassador had, in the morning, sent Monsieur Odyke word that he intended to wait upon the Princess that evening—he forgot to give notice of it; so that the Princess sate down as she uses to do, about eight o'clock, to play at la Basset. A quarter of an hour after, the Ambassador came in. She rose up, and asked him if he would play, and sate down again: he made no answer, but, looking about, he saw a chair with arms in the corner, which he drew himself and sate down. After he had sate a little while, he rose and went to the table to play. The Prince came in shortly after, and did also seat himself to play. The next day

he told some of his friends that he was not to be wondered at, for he had positive orders from his master, that, whenever the Princess sate in a great arm chair, he should do so too; and that, if there was but one in the room, he should endeavour to take it from the Princess and sit in it himself.

9th. Monsieur Shuts was with me; that night the Prince of Hanover came to the Hague; the Prince went to see him the same night.

11th. There was a ball at Monsieur Odyke's. I went to see the Prince of Hanover, who had just come to the Hague, and afterwards went with the Prince to dine with him.

12th. The blazing star or meteor was seen from five o'clock to half-past six.

15th. I received letters out of England of the seventh, and a reprimand. In the evening I was with the Prince. He laughed at what he heard concerning me, and was well pleased at one passage of Monsieur Van Lewen's letter, which was, that my Lord Sunderland told him they had an expedient that would make up all, but they were not to discover it.

SIR L. JENKINS TO MR. SIDNEY.

December 7th, —80.

Sir,

As soon as I received yours of the 5th of December new stile, I took an occasion to show it to his Majesty, who read it all himself, and some part of the paper which you had enclosed in it, having received it from the Pensioner. His Majesty being then in some haste (going to the House of Lords), did not say much upon it.

On Sunday I produced your letter and the Pensioner's paper at the Committee of Intelligence, and both were read before his Majesty. All my Lords took exceptions to the paper, as taking too much upon it to advise in our great affairs. It was the general sense that, where memoirs or papers are harsh in their language, or unpleasing in the subject matter, a minister may well debate and take his exceptions to them; and if he cannot get them reformed to his mind, he may excuse himself from handing them to his own master, and leave it to the Court he resides in to do it by their own ministers, at his master's Court. This I am commanded to say by way of caution to you, in case the ministers there should hereafter press

such papers upon you that you would have no reason to be satisfied with. That which I have further in command to tell you is, that if they come to you for an answer to their paper, you would let them know that you have received no answer upon it.

My Lord Stafford received sentence of death this evening — 54 Lords pronouncing him guilty, and 32 not guilty. What the Parliament will apply themselves to next is not yet declared.

I am, with great respect, Sir,

Your humble servant,

L. JENKINS.

THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND TO MR. SIDNEY.

December 7th.

On Sunday, Mr. Secretary read your letter and paper at the Committee. The King was very angry at it, thinking the States ought not to have spoken so plainly and so particularly; and some good friends of yours would have made him displeased with you for receiving and sending such a thing, but that ended only in orders to the Secretary to give you a caution for the future, and his Majesty was juster to you than they

would have had him. I have had more share in their malice, for they would persuade the King that I was the author, or the cause of that writing, so that I am a very great man, as they say, governing the States of Holland and the House of Commons; for all they do that is not pleasing to these good friends of ours, I am the occasion of it. Our Parliament news you will have from the office.

16th. I was at my Lady Delavall's, and was called out to see the blazing star.

17th. I writ to my Lord Sunderland and Sir L. Jenkins. I heard of the arrival of the yacht, and acquainted the Prince with it. I went to see Le Baron de Kecke, who does every thing for the Prince of Hanover. That night he and the Prince and Princess supt with me, and danced till morning.

MR. SIDNEY TO SIR LEOLINE JENKINS.

I received yours of the 7th, with a reprimand, which I confess I did not expect. I hope those who succeed me will deserve it less. I am sure none will ever serve his Majesty with more zeal

and affection than I have done: that is all I will say of that matter. Time will show whether I have done well in my negociations or no. I have sent you a printed paper: you will tell me if I have not done well; if I have, I will henceforth only send you the Gazettes. I desire you will be pleased to let me know whether it be the opinion of the Lords, as you please to call them, of intelligence, that I shall acquaint his Majesty only with what is done at the plays and the balls, and as soon as I receive your orders thereupon, I will observe them most punctually. This night the Prince and Princess of Orange and Prince of Hanover do me the honour to come to my house. They shall have music and dancing, and the best entertainment I can give them, which is all I have to tell you from home, but that I am

Yours.

The blazing star,[1] I suppose, hath given you an account of itself.

19th. Doctor Kenn came to me, and told me what enemies the Prince had in England.

[1] This was the great comet of 1680. Its appearance is thus described by Evelyn. "This evening, looking out of my chamber-window towards the west, I saw a meteor of an obscure bright colour, very much in shape like the blade of a sword; the rest of the sky very serene and clear. What this

22nd. I dined with the Prince, and had first a good deal of discourse with him; he seemed then to have pretty good hopes.

23rd. Letters came out of England, and made us to have an ill opinion of matters: the Prince desired me to represent it to my Lord Sunderland, and propose a prorogation.

24th. I writ to my Lord Sunderland and Sir L. Jenkins. Mr. Skelton came and told me of his going to Venice, and of the place that he and his wife took at the Emperor's Court.

25th. I carried Mr. Skelton to wait upon the Prince. At night he told me he did nothing but think of ways of hindering us all from being lost; that he finds from Monsieur Van Lewin that the King is willing to pass the Bill of Exclusion after the adjournment; and if he would declare his intentions, the Prince would come there next day,

may portend God only knows, but such another phenomenon I remember to have seen in 1640, about the trial of the great Earl of Strafford, preceding our bloody rebellion. I pray God avert his judgments! We have had of late several comets, which, though I believe they appear from natural causes, and of themselves operate not, yet I cannot despise them: they may be warnings from God, as they commonly are forerunners of his animadversions. After many days and nights of snow-clouds and dark weather, the comet was very much wasted." —Evel. *Mem.* i. 532.

if my Lord Sunderland thought it would do any good; and he desired at the same time a yacht might be sent for him.

26th. We went to chapel, and dined with the Prince.

27th. The Prince dined here.[1] At night I waited upon him again. He told me he was more inclined to the journey since Monsieur Van Lewen's letter than he was before, and if the King will declare he will pass the Bill, he will go. He desires to know of my Lord Sunderland whether he should bring his wife or no. He thinks if we have not a care, the King will think it is a trick between us. He fancies he shall do the King some service; he will bring but few people with him, but will bring his own officers, and will have people eat with him. If the King will make him a peer, he will take the oaths of Supremacy and Test, and any thing that is not contrary to the oath he hath already taken to the States; he desires me to ask for leave.

[1] The Prince lived upon easy and intimate terms with both Temple and Sidney. Lady Giffard (Temple's sister) says, "William, who was fond of speaking English and of their plain manner of eating, which Temple always continued abroad as well as at home, grew into so easy and familiar conversation in his family, that he constantly dined there, and commonly supped twice a week in his house, while he remained at the Hague."—Courtenay's *Life of Temple*, i. 436.

28th. I wrote to my Lord Sunderland about the Prince going into England.

MR. SIDNEY TO THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

You cannot easily imagine the trouble and disquiet every body here is in to see so small hopes of a good union in England. The Prince of Orange, being more nearly concerned, hath his thoughts perpetually taken up with our affairs, and is day and night studying how those great miseries may be prevented, which are so evident to all the world. You may remember, that last summer it was thought that the Prince's being in England would contribute very much to the composure of matters, and to hindering the people from running into extravagancies and those violences which we learn every post they are inclined to. You know also that the only thing that kept him from resolving to come immediately upon the King's commands was the business of the Duke, being ever persuaded that the Parliament would fall upon him, and that it was not in the King's power to support him; therefore, he had no mind to be in England at a time when he must be guilty of disrespect and undutifulness to his father-in-law, or else must be

obliged to advise the King to that which, in his own judgment, he is convinced would be certain ruin to the King himself, and to the whole Royal Family.

But now, finding by Monsieur Van Lewen's letters that the King thinks it necessary to pass the Bill of Exclusion, he desires me to let you know that, if the King continues in the same mind, and will declare it publicly, and that he thinks his presence at this time will be of any use to him, he will go over the next day; he himself is of opinion he may be serviceable to his Majesty; he will endeavour all he can, and if he fail it shall not be his fault. If his Majesty does approve of this project, and will make that declaration, though there should not be time to pass the Bill, if his Majesty pleases to send a yacht for him, he will make all the haste to wait upon him that is possible. His Highness also desires to know your opinion whether it be best or not to bring the Princess; he will bring her or leave her, as he is advised by you. He hath a mind that I should go along with him; and if you think fit, I desire you to get leave for me.

I hope this design will succeed well, and the King receive so much advantage from it, that he

may be greater and more at quiet than ever he was in all his life, which shall ever be my most earnest wish and desire.

LADY SUNDERLAND TO MR. EVELYN.

Sunday night.

Nothing but being very sick would prevent me writing to Mr. Evelyn, especially when he desired it, for I own I would do a great deal more for his satisfaction, to whom I must ever confess obligations that I can never pay; but you love not speeches, and therefore I shall have done, and proceed to satisfy you in what you seem to desire—news, though none that is good I fear can ever be sent you from hence.

You have seen, I suppose, the King's speech, wherein, at the latter end, he did in a manner invite the House to make their demands, and say what they would do;[1] to answer which they designed yesterday to take the speech into considera-

[1] The King's words are: "I do again, with the same reservations, renew the same promises to you; and, being thus ready, on my part, to do all that can be reasonably expected from me, I should be glad to know from you, as soon as may be, how far I shall be assisted by you, and what it is you desire from me."—*Parliamentary History*, iv. 1234.

tion, which they did; and I think all honest people must allow that it was a good day to this nation, since it did clearly show that there never was a House of Commons so unanimously resolved to make the King and Government established great and plentiful, provided they be secured in their religion. I shall, in as few words as I can, tell you the heads of the demands which they ordered a Committee to draw up in due form.

1st. That they could never think themselves safe without the bill of Exclusion.

2nd. An Act of Association on that bill.

3rd. The banishment for ever of all the noted considerable Papists out of the King's dominions.

4th. That the Judges be during their good behaviour, and not during pleasure.

5th. That all Justices of the Peace and Deputy Lieutenants be put into good hands, and the Sea Commanders such as are to be trusted and known Protestants. For this they do assure his Majesty, that they will (upon his giving them these) set him out and maintain him a fleet as shall make him master of the narrow seas, and so maintain the trade every where. They will maintain and supply Tangier, and they do engage themselves to

assist him plentifully in the support of all his allies and protestants, both at home and abroad.

This address will be read in the House and agreed to, as the directions for it yesterday were without a No. Really every body says there never was seen such a thing as the temper of the House to agree with the King. I fear there is little disposition here, for I don't find that either of the powerful men think, or will own they think, this anything; but you know what has been said, that they which are to be destroyed are first infatuated. God Almighty knows what is fittest for us. I wish we were but sensible how ill we deserve from him, and that might lead us to better paths.

You may, it is possible, observe in the words, if you have them, that one clause in the demands may be an act for the frequent meeting and sitting of Parliament; but, upon yesterday, they themselves put that out, and will not name it, which methinks shows their good intentions.[1]

A. S.

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[1] This letter, as appears from the Parliamentary History, must have been written on the 31st of December, 1680. One

January 4th. I writ to nobody, though it was writing-day.

6th. English letters came. At night the Prince told me he did not like them, and had not so much mind to go as he had, but fancied the King would send for him.

9th. I was at chapel. I went to the Prince before dinner. He shewed me his letters.

17th. I saw Vencislaus, and went to take my leave of the Count de Flodorp and my Lady. He made professions of kindness and willingness to serve me. We heard that night that the Parliament was prorogued. I saw the Duke's letter, which made us think he knew of it, and approved of it.

18th. I was with the Prince. He showed me his letters. I showed him mine. He never was so out of humour. Sir W. Temple's letter was long; Mr. Godolphin's short and melancholy. I went afterwards to Monsieur Alvin; he thinks these people will be horribly put to it if the French should ask an alliance, but would refuse it.

of the powerful men alluded to is certainly Lord Halifax, the other probably is Mr. Hyde. The original letter is in the possession of Mr. Upcott.

The Prince thinks they shall defend the Low Countries as long as they can. I writ to Sir L. Jenkins and Mr. Godolphin.

SIR ROBERT SOUTHWELL[1] TO MR. SIDNEY.

King's Weston, 4th January, 1680.

Sir,

I can give no tolerable account by what ill manners it comes about that I have not sooner acknowledged yours of the 26th of November, wherein you allow me to retain not only a share of

[1] Sir Robert Southwell, the eldest son of Robert Southwell, of Kinsale, in Ireland, was born in 1635. He was educated at Queen's College, Oxford, and entered at Lincoln's Inn. In 1664, he was appointed one of the Privy Council by Charles II. He was employed in several diplomatic missions: first, as Envoy to mediate a peace between Spain and Portugal, in which he succeeded; and, in 1672, he was sent as Envoy Extraordinary to Portugal. He then went, as we have seen, in 1680, upon a mission to the Elector of Brandenburg, visiting the Prince of Orange on his way, and, upon his return, retired from public business to his favourite abode, King's Weston.

King William brought him forward again into the world. By him he was appointed the principal Secretary of State for Ireland, and he attended him in his expedition there in 1690. He served in three Parliaments, and was five times President of the Royal Society. He died at King's Weston, in 1702, aged sixty-six, and is buried in the beautiful church of Henbury. Evelyn calls him a "sober, wise, and virtuous gentleman."

your favours, but that the Prince of Orange has me in his good opinion. It were a fault on both these scores not to be proud; but I do, as the rich man that hath a [1] , rather meditate than boast thereof. I left London in five days after my arrival, for I saw there such hot work that I thought it best to get out of harm's way, and so retired to my family, being now planted on the Severn, and within three miles of Bristol; but I must, in ten days, be in London to try my reimbursement for German expences, and shall count myself not a little fortunate if I may succeed.

To offer you my services here or there is very insignificant, as I am neither in office or dare desire it; but am resolved to pass my life between Virgil's Georgics and Mr. Evelyn on trees, as quiet and contented as I can; and, in the spring, I mean to skip over into Ireland to look after my concerns on that side. Thus you have the future story of my life before I live it, but this is a solemn truth that in all trades, and capacities, and places whatever, I will constantly maintain the resolution of being, with the greatest truth,

Your most faithful and humble servant,

ROBERT SOUTHWELL.

[1] Illegible.

SIR L. JENKINS TO MR. SIDNEY.

Whitehall, 4th January, 1680.

Sir,

I have the favour of yours of the 18th to acknowledge, which I do with all humble thanks. We are here in the same fermentation still, or rather a higher. This day his Majesty sent a message to the House of Commons, by way of reply to their answer, or last address. It was debated for a while with some heat, but the business of the day being to call the House over, the Lords voted a horrid Popish plot to be in Ireland to massacre the Protestants, and subvert the religion and the government. This the Commons will, without doubt, give into, and nobody knows where it will end.[1] The House was called over this day. Sir W. Temple made your excuse. I see but little hopes that our heats will be allayed. God in mercy look upon us!

I am your most humble faithful servant,

L. JENKINS.

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[1] They did give into it, and it ended in the sacrifice of the Roman Catholic Archbishop Plunket.

THE COUNTESS OF SUNDERLAND TO MR. SIDNEY.

January 18th.

I have deferred writing to you several posts because I never care to send news to my friends that I think will trouble them. This has been the single reason of my silence, but should I be so any longer, I might reasonably expect you would blame me and think me guilty of unheeding, which I never could be to such a friend as you; though the same occasion of my former silence still remains, as you shall see in the end of my letter; but I shall begin with public news.

The Parliament is this day dissolved, and a new one is to be called to meet on the 21st of March, at Oxford. This I suppose will amaze you, as it does most here. I pray God send it may be for the best. So much for public news. Now as to our private concerns. In the first place, I must tell you *that all things here have a most dismal appearance*, as you will easily imagine, and *all lies upon Lord Halifax*, and, upon my conscience, *he deserves it.* A few days will, I believe, *show us that this day's Council is as desperate as* possible, and the effects as fatal to the King. Don't mistake me, *to him alone, for be sure England will*

save itself, and nothing be undone but the King, who will be so. *As for our friend, he is as ill with the King as it is possible,* and I really believe he is *under a promise to Lord Halifax and Mr. Semor, who are the great and I think only Councillors in this plan to clear the Court of all the factions,* for, so may it please you, *are we and all of our minds called.* But, after all, I dare say the *King will never be brought up to it,* for you and I know *what a spark he is at going through with anything; but he treateth us and my Lord at such a rate, that he has asked leave to sell his place;*[1] *that is, the Duchess of Portsmouth has done it for him.* To which there was not one, no, not one syllable returned, either Yes or No. But as to this part, pray speak not of it to the Prince or any one.

The post is fast going, and I can't either advise you in your own affairs, or tell you all; but, please God, I'll write at large next post of all our concerns. My Lord Salisbury to-day has quitted the Council. The town says, *Lord Halifax means to expiate his faults by going away,* and if he does,

[1] The sum paid by Lord Sunderland to Sir Joseph Williamson for his place was £6000 and 500 guineas.—Echard, 960.

'tis like the tale of the maid, who set her master's house on fire and ran away by the light of it. My Lord bids me tell you he is more positive in his opinion than ever, and desires you will press the effecting of it. He has not, nor cannot, this day or two, send back your express. This is all. I could not to anybody else in the world have said so much.

19th. I talked again with the Prince; he told me that he heard there was 30,000 German blades at Cologne, to be sent into England; that the King had sent to the Duke to have the militia in readiness; that they should speak very high at the next Assembly, and take the Parliament's part.

23rd. Monsieur Van Lewen's secretary brought me a letter that told me of the Parliament's being dissolved, and a new one called to sit at Oxford, on the 21st of March. At twelve the Prince sent for me; he expressed a deal of trouble, and thought he should be quite undone; he is afraid of a war more than any body, and wishes the first bullet may kill him, for he had rather lose his life than

lose his reputation. He would be put in the bill if it would do any good. He believes that the King has taken measures with France, and so does every body. Whilst I was with him, the letters were brought. I had one in cypher, so he desired me to come in the evening; I did, and had a great deal of discourse with him. He told me, amongst other things, that he had some foresight how matters would go, which made him so backward in giving me the command of the English troops; that if things were quiet in England, or there was war with France, I should have it. He saith the Pensioner was almost mad; he took a resolution not to serve if this State made an alliance with France; he told me how the King would not see Monsieur Van Lewen, and was never kind to him since the paper I sent over.

24th. Sir Gabriel Sylvius and Monsieur Petterson were with me. I told him of Dr. Kenn and Mr. L'Estrange. In the afternoon he came to justify himself; afterwards Monsieur Alvin did him good offices with the Prince. He seems to have a good opinion of him. The Prince told me of men and ships at Dunkirk; he was afraid of Monsieur Van Beuninghen, and sent to know if he should go

to Amsterdam; he had no mind I should go with him this time.

25th. I was with the Prince; he told me Monsieur Van Beuninghen took our business very well, that he intended to go to Amsterdam on Friday, that he heard there were many gone into England from Ostend.

26th. I was with the French Ambassador; he told me he hoped we should be all good friends; the Prince of Orange and all.

27th. Sir Ellis Leighton was with me; then Monsieur Pats. I find he is not pleased with the Prince, but hath an aversion to the Pensioner; he saith the paper was the imprudentest thing that ever was writ; he declares he was for the Alliance, and tells his reasons; he says he is a republican, which he does not think a fault in a commonwealth; that Rotterdam is no more so than a town in France. At night I told the Prince; he said he was a lying fellow.

28th. The Prince went to Amsterdam. Monsieur Zulestein was married.[1]

[1] Sidney was not a little interested in this marriage, for a near relation of his was the lady whom Zulestein married. Mrs. Worth, the daughter of Sir Henry Worth, and by her

31st. I was at the Prince's chapel, and dined with the Prince, and staid with him till four o'clock. I found him very angry at his friends being put out; he made my Lord Sunderland many expressions of kindness; he thought I should be recalled, and he offered me the command of the troops.

February 1st. Mr. Leg dined with me. The Prince sent for me to shew me some letters. I writ to Sir L. Jenkins, Lady Sunderland, and Mr. Pelham. The Prince writ to his disgraced friends.

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mother's side the grand-daughter of the first Earl of Leicester of the Sidney line, had accompanied the Princess of Orange into Holland, as one of her maids of honour. This lady had been seduced by Count Zulestein by a promise of marriage, and it was only through the earnest remonstrances of Ken that he was prevailed upon to repair the wrong he had done her by marriage. The Count Zulestein was the son of General Zulestein, the natural son of Frederick of Nassau, the grandfather of the Prince of Orange, who, resenting the interference, threatened to dismiss him. Ken, who always disliked the Prince, would willingly have gone, but he was induced by his affection for the Princess, whom he always called his mistress, to remain one year more in Holland.

Ken returned to England in 1681, and in 1684, a few days only before the death of Charles, he was raised to the Bishopric of Bath and Wells.—Hawkins's *Life of Ken*.

THE PRINCE OF ORANGE TO SIR L. JENKINS.[1]

Hague, 28th January, 1681.

Every body here was surprised with the prorogation of Parliament, though they can very well understand the King was in some manner forced to it by their vehement proceedings. But I cannot express to you the fear we are in of a longer prorogation or dissolution. What will be the effects of it in the kingdom you will judge better than me, though here we have reason to fear they will be very fatal to the affairs of Christendom. I hold these affairs to be entirely ruined, and abandoned to those who have any intention to make themselves masters of them: and if people persuade themselves that when a new parliament is called, it will not have the same sentiments, that is a thing which cannot enter into my mind. The experience of the past has shown clearly enough that, instead of being more moderate, they have always pushed things a great length.

I think myself obliged in conscience to write you my opinions so frankly, hoping his Majesty will not take it ill that I represent to him a matter on which, in my opinion, depends the preserva-

[1] This letter has been published by Dalrymple.—i., 376.

tion of all Christendom, of his person, and of his kingdoms.

The interest which the State, and, above all, I have in it, is not little, so that it is not strange that I am in an extraordinary uneasiness how the day after to-morrow will pass, which is the time when the Parliament is to meet, seeing that is a day that may save or ruin us entirely. May God have pity on so many poor people, and bless the resolutions of the King with more prosperity than they have hitherto had!

I entreat you to represent this to the King, and to give me an answer.

THE COUNTESS OF SUNDERLAND TO MR. SIDNEY.

January 25th, 1680-81.

I don't doubt but you'll be very sorry when you hear my Lord is so great a degree in the King's disfavour, that he has not only turned us out, but without letting us have the money my Lord paid for it, which is a sort of hardship nobody has suffered from his Majesty but us.

Yesterday, my Lord Essex, Sir William Temple, and my Lord were put out of the council; in short, you see how things go. My Lord Halifax said he

would stay in town till my Lord were ousted, and then he would be gone, which he accordingly is to to-day, but with two faces, for he tells the King he will certainly be at Oxford, and to the town he professes he will be torn to pieces before he will have any thing to do with it; which his Lordship means, I know not, but am apt to think that he does not know his own mind.

I was this day in Queen Street House; to settle ourselves there and find we have so much room, that if you at any time come to live in England, I could let you have a very good apartment and all convenience, and I could heartily wish you would resolve upon boarding with us, for look you, sir, we are now so wanting in this matter that we cannot offer you anything but lodging and cheap boarding, and in sooth I'll be a very easy landlady. Well, I am in earnest, and you cannot imagine what comfort it will be to us if you will intend living with us, when you shall be out of office. Let me know your sincere mind on this matter, for it lies much at my heart.

My Lord bids me tell you that you must not think of stirring till you hear from him, for 'tis certain *that the chief reason of this persecution upon*

him and the rest of our friends is full as much to get out all that are friends to the Prince, as for any other cause; and then *'tis thought if all those very idle things called expedients fail, which, as sure as you and I live they will, then they may be the sole managers between the King and the Prince; but, having been a martyr for the Prince, I fancy he will think himself safer with my Lord than with Lord Halifax or Mr. Hide;* the first being a thing *nobody can depend on, and the last so absolutely in the Duke's interest as never to be divided;* but I need say nothing of this to you, who, I am sure, are already of this opinion, but only *to tell you that my Lord will live and die in the cause of the Prince, and that he must do ere long.* At present *my Lord is the favourite of the people more than ever.* I dare to say no more for fear the post should be gone; my Lord still keeps your man, meaning to send his last doom whether we shall be beggared by not having our money, or not; but I believe, 'tis too certain indeed, he had not time to write; *he means to write at large to the Prince and you.*

Let me know your mind of all these matters, *and whether it would not be prudent* for your friends in private to seek out *for one to buy your place* for

money, which in my mind is a very good thing, and I think it much likelier that things should ruin than mend, but in this you must be cautious, and let me know your mind.

I am yours.

February 2d. I went to Amsterdam, and staid there the 3rd and 4th. I writ to Sir L. Jenkins.

5th. I came to the Hague; talked with the Prince; he told me the Duke was not satisfied with the dissolution, because another Parliament was called. The Prince took me aside, and wondered I was not recalled.

8th. I had a letter from my Lord Conway. I writ to him. I went to the Prince at Odyke's, and supt at home with ladies.

11th. I had letters out of England. The Prince told me that Monsieur Pats, Slingerland, and Alvyn were of the French faction.

12th. Monsieur Alvyn was with me. I found him not so free as he used to be, which makes me suspect him. After dinner Mr. Freeman was a great while with me. He told me this Parliament would frighten the King, as other Parliaments had done before, and that the Prince would not be

thought of if he don't appear, that the lawyers were for having him in the entail. Bethel will be the Lord Mayor. The greatness and unanimity of the City is admirable. Lord Buckingham made a freeman, and would have been of the Common Council.[1]

SIR L. JENKINS TO MR. SIDNEY.

Sir, Whitehall, 1st February, 1680.

I had rather you had an account of the changes at Court from any hand than mine. My Lord of Sunderland gave up the seals yesterday morning, and my Lord Conway had them delivered to him by his Majesty in the afternoon. I shall always own that I was exceedingly obliged to my Lord of Sunderland; he took a great deal of pains, and showed a great deal of nobleness to bring me to

[1] "One of the Sheriffs proposed the Duke of Buckingham to be made free, but the Court of Aldermen, by good fortune, hesitated a little upon it, which gave time to discover and prevent the project, which was to have made the Earl of Shaftesbury a free man by the same mode, the day following, and immediately to have chose him Alderman and Lord Mayor the next election; by which means they would not only have been masters of the city, but have given great encouragement to a commonwealth disposition in the people, when they saw noblemen of the first order willing to rank themselves with tradesmen and citizens."—Clarke's *Life of James II.*, i., 651.

this post. I shall acknowledge his favours (though I did then endeavour to decline it) all the days of my life.

His Majesty hath declared in council that he will give the necessary orders to render the isles of St. Eustache and Sabia to the Dutch, who were the proprietors before the war. He hath *passé par dessus les formes*, and ordered the Galliot that was taken by Carew's obsolete commission to be set at liberty upon the memorial of the Dutch Ambassador; notwithstanding there was a *litis pendentia*, which will be determined on the 18th day of this month. The King hath likewise granted that the Dutch shall fish for their ordnance, lately lost in a Dutch man-of-war, that was cast away on the Scylly Islands. He also promised that a certain interloper, who fled from the justice of his country, shall be sent into Holland to answer the law there, if the Dutch happen to find him and his crew here, besides a letter that his Majesty is pleased to order to the Deputy-Governor of Jamaica, to render the value of £900 that are now in his hands as belonging to the Dutchmen.

I am, sir, your most humble

And faithful servant.

LORD CONWAY[1] TO MR. SIDNEY.

Whitehall, February 4th.

Sir,

His Majesty having appointed me to succeed the Earl of Sunderland in the place of one of his principal secretaries of State, the business which was under Mr. Secretary Jenkins's direction will now be placed under mine, and consequently I shall, by the duty of my office, be obliged to let you know his Majesty's pleasure as to what may concern your negociation. In order to which you will please to address your letters hereafter to,

Sir, your most humble servant,

CONWAY.

13th. I was at church with the Princess. I dined with the Prince, and was with him a great while both before and after dinner.

18th. I writ to Spencer, William Harbord, and

[1] Lord Conway, says Burnet, was brought in to be the other secretary, who was so very ignorant of foreign affairs that, his province being the north, when one of the foreign ministers talked to him of the circles of Germany, it amazed him. He could not imagine what circles had to do with the affairs of State.—Burnet's *Hist.* ii. 330.

Dr. Brown. I talked with the Prince; he told me he is for sending Monsieur Van Beuninghen. He is against his going to Hounslerdyke; he thinks it will be good to be from the Hague. He saith he never was out of hope till now, because, he saith, he finds all the world so enraged against the King. They begin to make court to Van Lewen; he said Gourville was to come hither to try what could be done with him.

20th. I was at the French church; afterwards I took my leave of the Princess. Sir Harry Bellasis told me that my Lord Falconbridge thought of coming hither. He told me that my Lady Bellasis had a contract from the Duke, and he was advised to produce it when Parliament was so violent against his wife. That he believed the Duke had engaged Webenon in his service. That when Parliament was dissolved, Legge did not sell Portsmouth. Sackville is coming away in hopes of some great matter from the Duke: the King was kind to him at his coming away, but said nothing to the Prince.

26th. I was to see the house of Monsieur Webenon, which cost 500,000 guilders.

27th. Monsieur Van Lewen was with me. He

told me that our affairs went ill; that the best thing for the Prince and the States was to sit still, and not to meddle one way or other. He does not think that the Court have taken any measures with France; that the Duke governs all.

March 3rd. I visited all the ministers that I had not seen for a great while.

5th. Sir Harry Bellasis dined with me: I told him a great deal of my affairs.

8th. I writ to my Lord Conway and Sir L. Jenkins. Monsieur Gourville,[1] was with me two hours; he told me they would give us no money, for we did all for them they could desire without it. He spoke contemptibly of the King. His master does not fear a commonwealth, for he knows it will not be settled as long as he lives; he thinks there will be nothing done this summer; he was afterwards with the Prince. He did not make any propositions, but said it was possible he might at Hummeling. The King of France gave him leave to see him. At night I waited upon the Prince. He showed

[1] Gourville had been Valet de Chambre, and became afterwards the confidential friend of the Duke de Rochefoucault, through whom he obtained the patronage of "the Great Condé." He was employed as diplomatic agent by the minister Lyonne. —Courtenay's *Life of Temple*, i., 180.

me a letter from the Duke and Mr. Hide. Monsieur Gourville told him, as he did me, that they esteemed him, but did not love him.

SIR W. TEMPLE TO MR. SIDNEY.

Sheen, February 20th.

I have two letters from you on my hands, which will be difficult to answer, because they require both comfort and advice; and as the one is hard to give from the public scene of our affairs, so is the other from so private a life as mine is here, and shall be by the grace of God. Yet, to a friend as you are, I cannot refuse my thoughts when they are asked, and therefore upon the offer that you say is made you, and so obligingly, I do not see how you can wholly refuse it, unless you resolve to get out of all public business, which becomes an old fellow like me something better than one of your age, and by many accidents is fixed more in my humours than it can be in yours. You know some of them, and, to confirm them, my Lord Sunderland has told me any time these two months that I knew the King better than he did, though,

considering all, he had some reason to pretend to it.

If you continue the thoughts of producing yourself in the world, and I judge right of your circumstances and dispositions of doing it here as our scene is at present, you will rather choose to do it in another place, and perhaps rather in that way than in any other; and therefore I think you will do well to accept it as kindly as it is offered to you, but desire that it may be kept secret till you can dispose of your place here, as I hear you intend, and one way or the other make an end of your suit with your brother, who, I doubt not, will not be discouraged by the sentences that have past from bringing it again about in the House of Lords, unless it could be ended by composition, which many think should be the easier for the advantages you have already gained. I think you ought to have these two engagements off your hands before you enter into the other, which may not possibly agree with these other circumstances as well as that of your absence. Whether you will be recalled suddenly, or desired to come over for a month or two, as my Lord Sunderland thought when I last saw him, either will agree with this end.

If you should be recalled, you must take leave of the States in an audience; and will have orders, no doubt, to assure them of the King's friendship and resolution to observe his alliances. The rest need be only acquainting them with the King's commanding you to return, and acknowledging the great civility you have received from them during your employment there, of which you shall always conserve the memory and contribute all you can in all places to the preserving those measures between his Majesty and them which are so necessary to their common safety.

I have given the Prince an account what made me resolve not to be of the Parliament. I was surprised at it, and so was Lord Sunderland more than I when I told him of it, and made him conclude some measures more fixed than he thought at that time they had been; and yet, after all, the King sent to me about ten days ago to assure me, whatever had passed, that he was not at all angry with me, which I easily believe, because I am sure I never deserved it: but all that is now past, and my measures are fixed as well as theirs, and I hope with as good reason, and the Prince cannot be angry with me for being put out of the Council,

since I kept my word with him of not putting myself out, which nothing else could have hindered me from a good while ago. 'Tis e'en time for me to have done, and get into port as fast as I can, after the winds I have met with at sea; for, let them make what rocks they will, till they learn to steer a steady and true course, no man alive can do any good, and what reason there is to hope for that I am content you should judge.

For what you say of some great matters being preparing here for the Prince, but that he cannot guess what it is, I cannot pretend to tell any thing, after having been here alone the last fortnight, but I suppose 'tis what the King and my Lord Chancellor tell every body since the dissolution of Parliament, that the King had resolved to propose something that should satisfy every body, and that I believe is but the rest of an expedient that was thought of before that Parliament broke, and which, for aught I know, might have done then, but I doubt will not now. 'Tis, in short, for the Duke to have the name of King after the King's death, but the kingdom to be governed by a Protector and Council, and the Prince of Orange to be the Protector. If this or any thing does, 'tis

well; but if it fails, after having been proposed by the Court, it will have one effect, which some of the Prince's good friends will be glad of, which is to make it believed that the Prince is as perfectly in the Duke's interest as they would have it thought and give out upon all occasions.

God knows what all this will end in, or what will pass this summer abroad! I am glad, however, the Prince has been at Amsterdam, and with so good an effect. His present business is to keep himself and the States perfectly united, and they will be of weight wherever they fall. And so I take leave of these kind of thoughts, confirming myself as to my own particular resolutions I told you of in my last for this summer and the next winter, if I live. All the good wishes I can make for your good fortunes, and the satisfaction of your life, being ever and most

Affectionately yours.

MR. MONTAGUE TO MR. SIDNEY.

London, February 20, 1680.

I have received your letter, and I perceive that, whenever you will be recalled, it will be no unexpected thing to you, and you will bear it as other

of your friends before you have done matters of that nature. However, if I might advise, I would with the Prince of Orange do what I could to prevent it, not for the advantage of staying there, but for the advantage of not being here, and being out of the way. You cannot expect much agreement in the Court, considering your relation to those that are out of it, unless those that now govern will be so kind to you as to remember the relation you had to the last Duchess.[1]

We are all preparing for Oxford. I shall be glad to hear from you, before we go, what you intend to do. Matters here are so unsettled that one can write nothing certain but that I am

Entirely yours.

THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND TO MR. SIDNEY.

Queen Street, February 22.

When I saw *Sir William Temple*, he told me what he had writ to you, which agrees so well with my sense that I can add nothing to it but that *I would have you make sure of the Prince's favour*,

[1] Allusion is here made to the love affair between Sidney and the first Duchess of York, which was the cause of his dismissal from Court.

as sure as is possible. The young Lord is very well pleased, very grateful, and depends upon what you writ to me. My Lord Mordaunt has desired me to write to you, to recommend him to the Prince of Orange as a young man very desirous to serve him, if he thought him capable of it. I told him I would do it, and that it could not but be well taken, but that I thought the first employment that fell his Highness might already be engaged to dispose of. Every body is preparing for Oxford. I should be glad it might prove to good purpose, but I think nothing will be changed but the place.

I intend to go to Althorpe next week, and from thence to Oxford, and with as good resolutions as if my usage had been quite contrary to what it was. I am entirely yours. Monsieur Van Lewen will entertain the Prince so well that it is to no purpose to write to him now.

MR. SIDNEY TO MR. GODOLPHIN.

By the late proceedings of the Lords of the Treasury, I have reason to believe that I am to be ill used, and I have nobody to address myself to but you who ever was my friend, and I am confi-

dent will ever be so, because I shall deserve it; and being you are so, I hope you will be contented to hear my story, and give me your advice what I ought to do. When I first undertook this employment, I relied upon what the King promised to his envoys upon the profits of my place, and upon my own estate, which I resolved willingly to spend in the King's service. Every body will tell you that I have done the King no dishonour in my way of living; and Mr. Hide was pleased to say, last summer, that I lived more like an Ambassador than an Envoy. Some will say, it may be, that I need not have done so; but I assure you it was absolutely necessary to obtain that success which we had last winter.

I think I have been as little importunate as any minister or servant the King hath, but now I must speak and desire the favour of Mr. Hide, of you, and the other Lords of the Treasury, to know what I must trust to. If I must have but £150 for two years being in the Robes; if I must not be paid my extraordinaries, of which there is now above £1000 due to me, nor my constant allowance, wherein I am almost three months behind; I hope you will have the goodness and generosity to tell me so, that I may retire into some corner, and not

let me spend £4000 a year, when I have nothing to do it but my own estate. The Prince hath no mind to part with me, or else I had asked my leave long ago.

10th. Mr. Hill dined with us. He thinks the Prince undone if there be a war, whoever hath the better, therefore his game is to keep peace. Gourville went away.

13th. I had a great deal of discourse with the Prince about our affairs; he confesses he does not know what to do; that he never was without some project till now. I found him in the afternoon at the Count D'Auvergne's.

14th. I was again with the Prince. He told me the States had been with him to consult what was to be done with the business of Luxembourg; they are mightily put to it. He hath given orders to the Governor of Maestricht to assist Namur with three regiments, and that is all that they are able to do.

17th. The Prince said that the Committee for Foreign Affairs had been with the French Ambassador, to tell him how they were surprised at the proceedings of the King of France. He gave them good words, laid the fault upon the Spaniards, and

still assuring them that his Master had no thoughts of breaking the peace. He told me the deputies would desire a conference with me to-morrow, to desire me to represent to the King the sad condition all Europe was in if he did not assist them. He saith there is nobody here for the French Alliance; that the affairs of the empire begin to be in good condition; that the Elector of Baviere hates France. He is to marry the Prince of Saxe-Essenach's daughter.

18th. I had a conference with the States: the resolution I sent to my Lord Conway. I writ to Sir L. Jenkins, and sent him the paper printed.

21st. I gave the Prince Mr. Hyde's letter, which he was very angry at.

23rd. The Count D'Auvergne dined here. In the evening Monsieur Beuninghen came to tell me the news of Luxembourg's being blocked up. I went afterwards to Court, and found Monsieur de Fuen-Mayor, who represented their sad condition to the Prince, and desired me to do the like into England. The Prince thinks the French will quit it when Virbon is delivered. We had the news of the Elector of Brandenburg's having taken two Spanish ships in the East Indies.

27th. I was at the Princess's chapel. I went

with Monsieur La Leck to see Monsieur D'Agusto, and then took my leave of the Princess.

April 1st. The news came of the dissolution of the Parliament.

THE COUNTESS OF SUNDERLAND TO MR. SIDNEY.

Oxford, March 28th.

The Dutch Ambassador's servant, who brings you this, will, I suppose, give you an account of the fine condition we are in, and though the dissolution be no more than every body did reasonably expect, after the strange proceedings in the House of Lords, who have rejected an impeachment of the House of Commons, which has been yet never in no time practised, yet 'tis not imaginable what a hurry every body is in, though they expected this dissolution to follow. Every body thinks things will come to an issue one way or another quickly. I dare not venture to write at large, for I have not my cipher here, but when I come home you may expect a long letter from me.

The last message I had from Sir Edward was, that he would see the business of Oxford over before he came to a treaty. I believe its being over in this manner will not quicken him, but I am apt to think, that after one month he may not

look so forward as we do, and may be willing to treat. I am sure in this as well as every thing else I will do for you as for myself, and wish every moment you were quit of them for £1000 less than it cost, for indeed 'tis very ill weather, clouds gather apace. Remember your resolution, that we end our days together; you cannot imagine how we reckon upon it. I am credibly informed that you will be speedily recalled, and Harry Savile too, but have not any certainty who will succeed you. We go on Wednesday to Althorpe.

I am yours sincerely.

You would oblige me more than you can imagine if you would send me of all sorts of ducks and wild fowl this spring; and if you would but send them, done up in bran, some eggs of all sorts, I could raise them if they were put up fresh: they would keep three weeks. Now don't laugh at me for being so silly as to think of such things when we are on the point of ruin.

SIR L. JENKINS TO MR. SIDNEY.

Good Friday, 1681.

Sir,

Though all is quiet in the city, and for aught I know every where else, yet we must reckon the

dissolving of the Parliament to be a very sad misfortune;[1] the heats growing between the two Houses about Fitz-Harris made it necessary to part them. Besides, nothing but the exclusion of the Duke would serve their turn; and 'twas plain, nay, which is more, 'twas confessed, an association, the militia, the fleet would have been demanded as securities requisite to make good the exclusion. I beseech God to bless and preserve his Majesty.

I am yours,

L. JENKINS.

MR. HYDE TO MR. SIDNEY.

St. James.

Your servant brought me the favour of yours of the 11th-1st instant on Wednesday morning; if I

[1] This was the dissolution of the Oxford Parliament, when the King took the Commons completely by surprise. "By the steps," says Burnet, "which the Commons had already made, the King saw what might be expected from them; so very suddenly, and not very decently, he came to the House of Lords, the crown being carried between his feet, in a sedan, and he put on his robes in haste, without any previous notice, and called up the Commons and dissolved the Parliament, and went with such haste to Windsor, that it looked as if he was afraid of the crowds that this meeting had brought to Oxford."

had received it the night before, I should not have deferred answering it till now, for I would not have you think that any thing that had happened on other accounts had made any alteration in me towards you. I have had my share of trouble in what hath passed, and I am sure I would rather contribute on my side to heal than widen any differences; and I desire no better judge than yourself, when you shall be truly informed of all things, whether my part hath been that of an ill man or no. When I am contented thus to make you my judge, I ought to make you my friend, and therefore, you may be sure, in the first place, that I cannot but take it kindly of you that you have writ so freely to me, and that you have chosen me to say something of your mind to, and have desired my advice, what I would do if I were in your place, which is the best way of judging for another.

In the first place, I cannot deny but you have great reason for the complaints you make; taking them just as they concern yourself, they are extreme hard, and you may reasonably enough not think yourself well dealt with; but if you will be pleased to look upon them with regard to all our affairs here, and the condition every body is in

that are either in your circumstances abroad, or have any employments at home, I am confident you will find it so bad with every body else, that you will think it less hard to yourself, when you find it is not unkindness but necessity that is the occasion of it; and to make this a little more intelligible to you, there is not one minister the King hath abroad that is not more behind than yourself, except Savile, who, by his peculiar talent of drinking with Mr. Duncombe, doth get himself supplied by him, even before it is ordered at the Treasury; and for those that have places here near his Majesty's person, not to put you amongst the very nearest, I can assure you that the Privy Purse, and one body nearer than that too, have been sufferers this last year, very near to the same degree with yourself. This is not a condition for those who have any share in the administration in the King's revenue to brag of, but I had rather tell you the truth, though it be to discover our nakedness than let you remain under the apprehensions that there is either injustice or unkindness to yourself in particular; and if that notion can be taken out of your head, I suppose the matter itself will be less intolerable to you; I

know you have lived to very great honour, both of yourself and the employment you are in, and I think you have done very well in it, and I have not forgot the opinion I had about a twelvemonth ago of the service you had the skill and good fortune at that time to do his Majesty, and whatsoever hath been done since, I dare say there is no displeasure at you for it, I say only if there hath, for I will not enter into any thing of that nature; but, upon the whole, my poor opinion is, that you would not have done well to have desired to be recalled, that neither the King nor the Prince of Orange would have liked it from you, and that the servant must always have patience with the master; and with that good quality, though one may sometimes be in trouble, one overcomes a great many difficulties, which I hope you will do all these that oppress you at present, and I am sure there shall be nobody readier to serve you in the doing it than

Your most humble and obedient servant,

L. HYDE.

2nd. Monsieur de Fuen-Mayor was with me. He told me of the express that was gone to the

Prince with letters from the King and Mr. Hyde, that he heard the King was resolved to stick to his alliance, and would help them with 30 ships, though he would not with landmen.

4th. Monsieur Campricht was with me. He thought matters would go well in Germany; that they would have 60,000 men, besides the Emperor's own troops; thought these people were uneasy at the King of Denmark's building a fort in the country of Oldenburg; he desired me to write that the King would use his endeavours to compose matters between the Emperor and the Turks. I was with Monsieur Siegle; he told me this State owed seven millions to the Emperor; a great sum to the King of Denmark, the Duke of Zell, Duke of Newburg, and the Bishop of Munster.

6th. Parson Hill was with me. Monsieur Buzero dined here; Monsieur Alvin came afterwards.

7th. I writ to the Prince; took my leave of Lady Inchiquin, and went to Monsieur Van Lewen.

9th. I was with Monsieur Alvin. He told me of my brother's being here, of his lying at Mr. Newport's, near Schiedam; that Monsieur Vebenon was sent to talk with him.

10th. I saw Monsieur Van Wielde at the Voor-

holt. He said matters went ill, and did almost give over the thought of that matter.

11th. I was to see the French ambassador and Monsieur Roosbone; he and every body else tells me that this commonwealth cannot last. At night Monsieur Sas was with me, and told me the same thing, that they were not able to set out a fleet, and that their sea affairs grew worse and worse.

13th. Monsieur Marlot dined with me; after dinner he told me that the King of France would certainly have Flanders next winter, and had a design upon the West Indies, which one might see plainly in Monsieur le Comte d'Estree's Journal. He said also he had appointed some of the Prince of Orange's lands to be sold, and in a short time they should be all sold; that the Prince was not surprised at it; that he would still do what was for the good of his country. If he would have let him enjoy it, he would thank him; but he would do just the same as if he had no dependence upon him; he blamed his going to Hummeling. In the evening I was with Monsieur Pettecum, who thinks this State in an ill condition, as every body else does, and they themselves begin to say they are not to be saved.

14th. I went to Monsieur Fuen-Mayor to know

what he had done at the Pensioner's. He said it was to consult how they should make the King propose to these people to make some kind of defence of the Low Countries.

17th. I was with Monsieur Alvin; found him mighty ready to serve me; advised me to get the young lady's consent, and we should do well enough for the contracts.

MR. SIDNEY TO MR. HYDE.

On Saturday I received yours of the 11th, and the enclosed for the Prince, which I could not deliver last night, he being gone to Breda, and not returning till late. I must give you a thousand thanks for mine: for, though it gave me no great hope of what people look after most in this world, yet it hath put me much more at ease than I was to find that I am to be no worse used than others in my circumstances, and the assurance you give me of your kindness and assistance is a greater satisfaction to me than I can tell you. All this time I will rely upon your favour, and do not doubt but you will supply me as soon as you can, especially seeing I resolve to have patience as long as I am able to subsist; much longer the King's foreign ministers will not be able to subsist. I am sure you

have business enough upon your hands at this time, and therefore it would be very impertinent to keep you any longer, having nothing to say, but to desire the continuance of your good opinion, and, which you shall often have, the repetition of my being

Your most humble

And obedient servant.

MR. HYDE TO MR. SIDNEY.

April 16th, 81.

Sir,

I had two of yours to acknowledge of the 2nd and 15th instant, which I have not made all the haste to acknowledge that I ought to have done, to return you my thanks for so much favour and kindness as you express in them, not being able to say any thing more to you than I had done of that which you say people look most after in this world; but that which you say of myself is so obliging, that I must ever endeavour to deserve it of you by obeying your commands in the most effectual manner that can be whenever it is in my power.

I saw a letter of the Prince of Orange's to Mr. Secretary Jenkins, proposing that you might have his Majesty's direction to go to attend at this great

meeting at Hummeling, which his Majesty agreeing to, I suppose this may not find you out at the Hague, upon which journey I have but this one remark to make, that it seems the sudden dissolution of Parliament was not of that importance in foreign parts as to disappoint it. I think it was expected, both at home and abroad, that it would have caused greater alterations than it hath yet done, or I hope will do. God be thanked for the deliverance from the fears that are passed, and preserve us from the dangers to come! I humbly thank you for your great kindness to Mr. Parsons. You have made a young man's fortune, and obliged,

Sir, your most humble and
Most obedient servant,
L. Hyde.

MR. PENN[1] TO MR. SIDNEY.

My kind friend—The world thus changed and changing makes me mighty careless of the comforts

[1] The celebrated William Penn, the Quaker, the founder of Pennsylvania. He married a daughter of Sir William Springett, of Darling, in Sussex, who had been killed in the civil war at the siege of Bramber. Burnet, who disliked him, says "that he was a talking, vain man, who had such an opinion of his own

of it; and you courtiers must and will learn to think so too, when your disappointments come home, and, if I have any prospect, your turn may be next. 'Tis a pretty thing to see how finely the great monarchs of the world play at ninepins with their ministers, destroy their creatures that they may create again. The corruption of one thing is the generation of another, if philosophy be true, and perhaps order may arise from our confusion; if one could be sure of that, 'twould mitigate the pain. Which of us, two shall be Ambassador I can't tell. Well, I perceive the Dutch air is taking, and that thou art resolved to keep out of harm's way. So shall I too, when I can get to my new-granted province in America, where the charge of the voyage will secure me from the revenge of my enemies. But, not to be tedious, let me beg a letter to Colonel Russell in Lieutenant Cook's behalf. He has failed of his promise; the place is gone, and the man ruined, if he will not give him

faculty of persuading, that he thought none could stand before it, though he was singular in that opinion, for he had a tedious, luscious way of talking, not apt to overcome a man's reason, though it might tire his patience." Swift, however, says that he talked very agreeably and with much spirit.—Noble's *Continuation of Granger*.

the value of the colours of the ensign of the regiment; he that has it professes to do it, and, till then, that the man may have his pay seems reasonable. Perhaps this is like to be the last trouble you will receive by the means of

Thy very true old friend,

W. F. Penn.

Direct for me at one Ford's, in Bow Lane, London.

24th. I was at the French church.

25th. was the business of the Burgers.

27th. I was at Ryswick, and walked a great while with the lady, her mother being gone to Tergo.

30th. I met Mademoiselle de Weelde in the Wood. She told me that she was to go to Amsterdam.

May 1st. I went to the Prince of Anspach, and afterwards to Monsieur Campricht. He told me he was a sovereign Prince in Franconia, that there are two of the House. He said that the Count de Taaffe had been with him, and that he found him well-disposed for the common interest.

May 4th. I was with Monsieur de Fuen-Mayor; he told me that Monsieur Ronquillos was much unsatisfied with the answer that was given to his memorial, which was not in writing.

6th. I sent away the letters, and went afterwards to Amsterdam.

7th. I dined with Mademoiselle, and went afterwards to the Hague.

13th. I was at Rotterdam, and took my leave of Mademoiselle. Afterwards I writ to Lord Conway, and sent him Madame de Fuen-Mayor's Memories.

LORD HYDE TO MR. SIDNEY.

Whitehall, May 10th.

I most humbly thank you for the honour of yours of the 13th, in which you are pleased to take notice of the honour which the King has lately done me. I am very happy that you are pleased to let me have your good wishes, and I am very sorry I cannot make you a better return at present than my most humble thanks and assurance of my intentions to serve you in that which will be more effectual. I hope it will not be long before, by the help of your other friends in the treasury, we

may bring you out of some of those difficulties you have of late represented to me, which I assure you I am very much touched with, and shall endeavour in this and all other accounts to let you see that I am,

Sir,

Yours most faithful,

HYDE.

23rd. I went to wait upon the Prince at Sourfleet. He shewed me a letter from my Lord Hide. I told of mine I writ to him; he would have the King send four frigates to chase the Elector of Brandenburg, but said he had nobody to write to near the King.

24th. I sent the news to Mr. Blathwaite, but writ to nobody. I went to Hounslerdike, and told the Prince of my being to be recalled. He did not believe it; he said he had not changed his mind in giving me the command of the troops. He consented to have my Lord Arran and Lord Mordaunt if he comes to Court. He suspects us mightily of taking measures with France.

26th. I was to see Monsieur Sterenberg; after-

wards went to Hounslerdike. The Prince said he would write his mind to my Lord Hide very plainly. At night Mr. Bertie came to town; he was with me the next day.

28th. I carried Mr. Blathwayte to Hounslerdike; he returned well satisfied. The Prince told me he writ to my Lord Hide. I advised him to write to the King, which he had no great mind to do, but yet he said he would do it.

29th. The officers dined with me. I sent Mr. Plott's letter, which mentioned my revocation, to the Prince; he did not believe it; he sent me a letter for the King.

30th. I went to Hounslerdike. The Prince would not believe that I was recalled, having received letters from my Lord Hyde and Mr. Secretary. Mr. Bertie was with the Pensioner; he seemed to be mighty surprised and troubled at my revocation; so did Monsieur de Fuen-Mayor.

31st. Mr. Bertie took leave of me, and showed me his letter to Sir Lionel Jenkins.

June 3d. I dined at Monsieur Overkirk. I writ to my Lord Hide, Mr. Pelham, Mr. Plott, Mr. Blathwayte, about the gazette of my being general and governor of Bois le Duc.

4th. I went to Hounslerdike at five o'clock, and gave the Prince letters from Lord Conway, Lord Hide, and Mr. Skelton, acquainting him of the King's resolution of recalling me and sending Mr. Skelton; and in my Lord Conway's letter he was desired not to dispose of the command of the English troops, which he was surprised and angry at. He writ immediately to my Lord Hyde to let him know as much, and that he had disposed already of that command to one his Majesty liked very well. He sent to the Brill for my letter, for which I was in great pain till it was brought to me; he grew more and more unwilling to have Mr. Skelton.

5th. Alderman Backwell dined with me, and complained mightily of his usage.

6th. A great deal of company dined with me. In the evening I went to Hounslerdike; I showed the Prince my Lord Conway's letter; he wondered at the expressions of kindness; he thinks somebody hath told the King some lies of me and of him.

LORD CONWAY TO MR. SIDNEY.

Sir,

Windsor, June 3, 1681.

If I had had the honour to be so far acquainted with your inclinations, as to know whether you desired to continue in Holland or not, I am sure I should have contributed all that in me lay to what you had judged most for your service. But being altogether a stranger to your concerns, I neither furthered nor obstructed any thing in this matter, when his Majesty declared the other day his intention of calling you home, and of sending Mr. Skelton in your station. I believe his Majesty's letter of revocation will be sent next week; and if you please to lay your commands upon me in any thing, I shall always strive to assure you that I am, with great respect,

Your most obedient,

Faithful servant,

CONWAY.

THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND TO MR. SIDNEY.

Althorpe, June 3.

I hear from London that you are recalled, and that Mr. Skelton is to go in your place; that the

Prince of Orange has given you my Lord Ossory's command, and that you are presently to be married.[1] Pray let me know as soon as you can what is true of these reports, and what is not. I can write you nothing from hence but that we are all well, and had last week a very kind visit from the Duchess of Portsmouth. The Grand Prieur, my Lord Ranelagh, Mrs. Crofts, and my Lady P—— came with her. They staid two days only, and returned to Windsor to be there on the King's birthday. I am ever entirely yours.

9th. I dined at Hounslerdike. I asked the Prince what about my commission; he said he would speak to his secretary about it; he thinks the King will not see me, for it will be ridiculous not to be angry. We named several for to be envoyé, for he does not think Skelton will come.

10th. I received letters out of England. I sent them to the Prince, and he sent me word he had had one from the King. I writ to my Lord Hide, the Duke of Monmouth, and Spencer.

[1] All was true with the exception of his marriage with the Dutch heiress, in which speculation Sidney failed, notwithstanding his long walks with her in the Wood.

11th. I was at Hounslerdike. The Prince shewed me the King's letter; he resolved to answer it by me, thinking it is best; he told me of a design he had of going into England for a month; he thought it would do good, and that it can do no harm.

12th. He took me into his coach in the Voorholt, and said he had acquainted the Pensioner with his design, and he approved well of it.

13th. My letters of revocation came. I went and acquainted the Prince with it; he seemed to be glad, he resolved to write to my Lord Hide, but not to the King.

15th. I was at Hounslerdike; had a great deal of discourse with the Prince, and gave him thanks for my acts.

16th. I had my audience, was conducted by Monsieur Vanderden and another of Friesland.

17th. I took my leave of the Prince; he thought still of his journey. He would have me consult with Sir William Temple about it, and Godolphin, if he be not changed; he will speak to nobody here but Monsieur Van Beuninghen and Van Lewen; he will write to the King for leave, and for a yacht; he desires to make compliments to whom I

think fit, and to speak to my Lord Hyde of the ill condition of foreign affairs, particularly that the insolence of France proceeds from our fear; he showed me his letter to the King, which was very kind towards me; he spoke of the Princess of Oost Friese's son marrying Lady Ogle; and I spoke of the Princess of Nassau: he hath no mind he should marry the Princess of Zell. He is willing to have my Lord of Arran; he will write to the Duke to let him know he hath given me the command of the troops; I spoke to him of the Princess's drinking the Tunbridge waters.

MR. SIDNEY TO LORD CONWAY.

My Lord,

I think myself very happy to be so in your Lordship's favour as that you would willingly have contributed so much as lay in your power to what I should think most for my advantage. I give your Lordship many thanks for it, and shall acknowledge it as long as I live: no man ever did me a kindness that I ever forgot, and when I have the honour to be better acquainted with your

Lordship than I am at present, I hope you will not repent the inclination you have to be favourable to me, and that you will find I deserve some part of your esteem and good opinion.

It is a good while that I have heard his Majesty had intentions of recalling me, and sending Mr. Skelton. I told the Prince of it, but he would not believe it. I said nothing of it to your Lordship, though I knew his Majesty's affairs were concerned in it, because I was afraid of being suspected—as all the world is—of considering my own interest. I had writ to your Lordship last week to know what his Majesty intended to do with me, but, receiving some letters just as the post was going away, I would not give your Lordship that trouble. I was the more pressing because the physicians tell me 'tis necessary for me to drink Tunbridge or Spaw waters, and which to pitch upon I could not tell without knowing how his Majesty would dispose me, which I now see by your Lordship's of June 3rd. As soon as I receive my letters of revocation I will take my leave, and wait on the King with all speed. In the mean time I will heartily wish that he may receive advantage by the change of his ministers, and that

you will be persuaded of my being with great reality,

Yours.

MR. SIDNEY TO LORD HYDE.

My Lord,

You cannot imagine how sensible I am of your kindness in telling me of my faults, and giving me your advice, which I assure you I will follow as exactly as I can. I am as likely to commit errors as any man living, but when I am told of any particular one, by one that wishes me well, I think I shall not be guilty of the same again. Yesterday I received my letters of revocation, and to-morrow or next day I shall have my audience, and on Saturday, by the grace of God, I intend to go into the packet-boat. I never did intend to leave the King's employment sooner than I had orders for it. I will behave myself as calmly as a man can do; and, being that there is no rancour to me for what has passed, I hope to live all the rest of my days without giving the least distaste to his Majesty.

I writ to your Lordship, by the last post, something pressing for money, which I hope you will

excuse, when you consider how necessary it is when one leaves a place. I have taken up £1200 to discharge the debts that I owe at the Hague, and I must leave my plate and every thing that I have here till it be paid. I would have staid myself, but that I think his Majesty will take it well to have me make haste over after he had recalled me; and, besides, I trust to your favour and justice. I will endeavour to deserve whatever I receive from you, by being

Yours,

H. SIDNEY.

June 18th. I came to the Brill, and went on board the packet-boat.

19th. We got no further than the Pitts.

20th. We sailed from thence.

21st. We landed at Harwich, and I lay at Wickam.

22nd. I came to London, where I heard that the King was angry with me, and would use me coldly.

23rd. I went to Hampton Court, but missed the King. My Lords Halifax and Hyde carried me to dinner at my Lord Faulconbridge's. Afterwards my Lord Hyde went with me to Windsor.

He asked me how he was with the Prince, and complained of his letters: he advises me to quit. He presented me to the King, who received me kindly.

24th. I dressed the King. My Lord Hyde told me that he had read the Prince's letter, and would speak to me about it. I came to Sir W. Temple, and spoke to him of the Prince's coming; he does not seem much to approve of it, but if he did come he would not have him stay above two or three days. I came home and writ to the Prince. I went afterwards to Mr. Montague's.

25th. I was with my Lord Halifax, and talked much of the Prince and my business. In the afternoon I went to Windsor, and supt with the Duchess of Portsmouth. She seemed kind, and spoke to me for some time of the black hens, but said nothing of business. I dined with her, and went to Sir W. Temple's.

27th. I dined at Sir W. Jones's.

28th. I writ to the Prince, and dispatched my page with it. I was at the Treasury Chambers, to demand my money. In the absence of my page, I was persuaded by Sir W. Temple and Mr. Godolphin to submit all to the King's pleasure.

MR. GODOLPHIN TO THE PRINCE OF ORANGE.[1]

London, June 28th, 1681.

Mr. Sidney has told me that your Highness does me still the honour to preserve me in your good opinion, and that you are so just as to believe me as full of zeal for your service, and as much devoted to your interests as truly and sincerely from my heart I am, and I hope always shall continue to be, but I am not very good at compliments and great expressions, and, if I am not deceived, your Highness cares as little to be troubled with them. Mr. Sidney has told me further that your Highness has spoken to him of a thought you have lately had, that it might be of good use to you to come over into England at this time, and that you had given him leave to acquaint me with it, and to know my opinion of it. I confess I was very well pleased to hear him say it was your Highness's own thought, and that you seemed to have an inclination for it; for my part I have wished for it a great while, and I think it more necessary now than ever, for I am satisfied there is nothing that can so infallibly restore that good

[1] Published by Dalrymple, *Mem.* i. 70.

understanding between the King and your Highness which is so necessary for you both, and which every day (to my great trouble) I see more and more likely to decline; and I am afraid will be quite lost at last, if your Highness will not please to make use of all your prudence and all your temper, (and perhaps some of your address too,) to prevent this misfortune: thus far Mr. Sidney and I were of a mind.

We agreed that it must needs be well for your Highness to come over at this time, but we differed a little upon the pretext you were to take for it; he seemed to think it would be best for your Highness to ask the King's leave that you might come over to wait upon him, as a visit of compliment only, without pretending any business at all, which at another time might perhaps be the best way: but, at this time, considering how things stand between the King and your Highness, the difficulties that have risen about Mr. Skelton's going into Holland, and Mr. Sidney's commanding the troops there, I was of opinion that it would look a great deal better, and I thought be more agreeable to your inclinations, to speak out plainly upon this occasion, and to write to the King that you found

yourself so much troubled and concerned for the dissatisfaction which his Majesty seemed to have at your proceedings in the business of Mr. Skelton, and so apprehensive lest any other occasion might happen to increase it, that you could have no satisfaction in your own mind till you had begged his Majesty's leave to come and wait upon him, and endeavour to set yourself right in his good opinion; and if your Highness would please to add to this such assurances of your zeal for the King's service and his greatness as you shall think fit; of your desire to be acquainted with the measures he proposes to take, that you might be able to assist him to the utmost of your power; and of your desire to establish a good correspondence with those whom the King is pleased to trust and employ in his business: upon these advances to the King, I am sure your Highness might come over hither with great advantage; and the countenance and the kindness which the King will show you, finding you in this temper, joined to the love and esteem, and the natural inclination which people have for you here, would presently give your Highness such an influence upon every body, (even the ministers themselves,) that you would be able to give what

turn you pleased to most of our affairs here that are of the greatest importance; at least, this is my opinion of the matter, which, if I have given too bluntly or imperfectly to your Highness, I do most humbly beg your pardon for it. I should not have presumed to do it at all, but that Mr. Sidney made me understand it was your Highness's express pleasure and command, which shall always be most readily observed by me with the greatest respect and duty imaginable.

MR. SIDNEY TO THE PRINCE OF ORANGE.[1]

London, June 28, 1681.

I writ to your Highness by the last post, but had so little time to do it in, that I doubt I gave you but an imperfect account of our affairs; I shall now say something more to your Highness, and will begin with what concerns yourself. It is very plain that you have had very ill offices done you to the King; they make him believe that your Highness is of the party that is most against him; that you have a constant correspondence with

[1] Published by Dalrymple, i., 74.

those (they call) his enemies; that you drive a contrary interest; in short, I believe there are some in the Cabinet Council that are desirous enough to see a breach between the King and your Highness. I told my Lord Halifax and my Lord Hide, in plain terms, that I was of this opinion; they answered that they could not imagine there was such a villain, and such a fool too, amongst them, for it would not only destroy this nation and all the royal family, but all Europe.

I am apt to believe that these two Lords would not be so inclined, but that they would be glad to see a good understanding between the King and your Highness, especially my Lord Halifax; who a Saturday morning did to me make great professions of his being entirely in your interest, and said you were the only foundation one could build upon. That what he had done last winter was to carry on your interest, and for his part he would never think of any other. I told him I was very glad to hear him say so, for that I was sure he could do your Highness considerable service if he would; upon which he solemnly promised to do his best. I then informed him how matters had passed between your Highness and this Court

within these six months, and left him to judge whether you had reason to be satisfied or no, especially in their last proceedings about Mr. Skelton; he said, as to that matter, all was resolved of before he came to town; I answered all was not yet concluded, and if he had any respect for you, he would do well to show it; he answered me he would try what could be done.

He and my Lord Hide do both complain of your letters being too high and too sharp, and say if you had writ in a more gentle style, it would have had a better effect with the King. I told them I thought your Highness was not much to be wondered at for taking that business of Mr. Skelton's and several others something to heart, and, if they would speak sincerely, I was sure they would be of my mind. These Lords say that I am very likely to contribute a great deal towards a breach between the King and the Prince; I told them I had rather be hanged. Their reason is, that the King is resolved never to give his consent to my having the command of the troops; that if your Highness and I persist in it, his Majesty would take it ill of your Highness, and never be kind or reconciled to me.

As to the first, I told him the King could not be so unjust as to be angry with your Highness for his giving me an employment when you thought I was in his favour, and, being you had given it me, you could not well take it away without my doing something to deserve it, which as yet your Highness was ignorant of. As to myself, I had little reason to expect much kindness from the King, being changed as he was in nine months' time without having any reason for it; that, in September last, his Majesty told me he had rather have me at the head of the troops than any man in England, and many other things he promised towards the advancement of my fortune, which he hath not observed, but hath done much the contrary, and nobody hath yet told me how I deserved it; I added that I had spent a great deal of money and time in his service, had ventured my life as often as most people had done for him, and now was very ill requited; therefore, I hoped his Majesty would not be displeased at my keeping an appointment that was an honour to me, and would be a subsistence, being he did not think of doing anything for me himself.

This and a great deal more I told them I would

say to the King, when he would do me the honour to speak with me, which he hath not done yet, and I imagine he stays till he hath an answer of his last letter to your Highness, for they think that will prevail much upon you. I shall be guided and governed in this and in every thing by your Highness, as long as I am upon earth, therefore pray let me have your commands. The King and his ministers seem to be very kind to me, I doubt it is not real; but they hope to persuade me to lay myself and all that I have at the King's feet, which I confess I have no mind to do. I hope your Highness's kindness to me will never be prejudicial to you, for that would be an eternal affliction to me; hitherto I know it hath not, for though the King and his ministers are a little angry for the present, yet I can assure you it hath done you no harm in the nation, but a good deal the contrary; and the King's sending Mr. Skelton, and your opposing him, hath done the King more hurt, and your Highness more good, than any thing that happened these twelve months.

I will now make your Highness a short description of our Court and the persons in it. Mr. Godolphin, Mr. May, and two or three more, are

still very honest, but have little power with the King; the others are great rogues and betray their master every day. They make him believe by their addresses that the affairs of the kingdom are in a very good posture, which is all wrong, for, now I understand them, I find they signify nothing, and they grow every day more ridiculous; nobody hath any credit but the Duke's creatures, and they study what is good for the Duke and themselves, but do not consider what is good for the King or the nation, and the affairs abroad never enter into their heads. My Lord Halifax is greatly incensed against the House of Commons, and must stick to the Court (for he hath not a friend anywhere else), and is therefore obliged to comply sometimes against his inclination. My Lord Hide is for what the Duke would have, right or wrong. Mr. Seymour is very violent; despairs of being well with the King, if he is well with his people; and therefore does endeavour every day by his counsels to make the breach more irreconcileable, and I do verily believe he does all he can to make the King and your Highness fall out.

All these things I have talked over with Sir William Temple and Mr. Godolphin, who, I am

confident, are as much yours as ever, and by their letters you will find they are of opinion your coming over will be of great advantage to you; they differ something in the manner, but all agree that, there being a misunderstanding between the King and your Highness, and it being likely to grow worse and worse, your presence will be necessary to set all things right, which may do great good, and we do not see which way it may do you any harm; we all think that the ministers would not be glad of it, and therefore it will be requisite that this business passes only between your Highness and the King. My Lord Halifax, I believe, would not oppose it, because he said the other day that he thought your coming might be of use. I took no notice of it, and quickly passed it over; it may be he will never think more of it; but by what he said you may easily suppose that he would not be against it, if it should be proposed to him. I delivered a compliment from your Highness to the Duchess of Portsmouth, which she took extremely well, but it will do you little good, for she hath no more credit with the King, and these ministers are persuading the King to send her away, and think by it to reconcile themselves to the people.

My Lord Feversham hath more of the King's personal kindness than any body. Mr. Legge hath a great deal; but which is most extraordinary is the favour the Queen is in. It was all about the town that the King would not see me, and was resolved to break the troops if I had the command of them. Mr. Seymour says—"By God, the King must break them, and the Prince of Orange must not gain his point." My Lord Hide says no such thing, for he knows the King cannot do it, but he endeavours still to persuade me to submit to the King; tells me I shall have great matters done for me; that it will be unpleasant to me to have this command against the King's consent; and, what is most to be considered, it will be prejudicial to your Highness. I cannot make any certain judgment of this affair till the King hath spoke to me, which, I think, he does not know how to do. I have been perpetually at his elbow, expecting what he would say, but he cannot bring it out. I fancy it goes against his nature to say he was very kind to me last year, but hath changed his mind, he does not know why.

July 5th. I told my Lord Hide and Halifax what I intended to do—they were all pleased.

6th. I told the King of it, and entered into discourse about the Prince.

9th. My page returned. I went to Windsor and delivered the King's letter; he immediately spoke of the Prince's coming, and said he would give orders for a yacht.

11th. The yacht went, and I writ to the Prince.

14th. The King spoke of his coming publicly.

15th. I went to Windsor, and came back the next day. I then waited for the Prince; he came the next week, he staid about a fortnight.[1] I

[1] The result of this visit of the Prince of Orange to England, which had been so long urged upon him by his friends, was just what he expected—an increase of ill-will and jealousy on the part both of Charles and James towards him. The following is the account which the latter gives of his transactions during his short stay :—

"The Duke had scarce leisure to reflect upon this advantage [the commitment of Lord Shaftesbury to the Tower] before news was brought him of the Prince of Orange's desire to make the King a visite, which he pressed with so much earnestness and haste (on pretence of being back on such a time) that the King was under a necessity either of denying him (which he could not in civility doe) or permitting him to come before he was prepared to weigh well the consequences of it,

went with him to Harwich, afterwards to Tunbridge, then to Althorpe, and so staid about London

or have the Duke's therein; who dreaded the effects of that interview, and failed not to advertise his Majesty of several visible objections against his coming, as 'that it would give great heart and a new life to the factious party at that critical time, when the King had them in a manner under his feet, that it would create great jealousie at the court of France, which would be of the worst consequence in the present circumstances, but above all it was manifest his business could be no other than to work the King to an agreement with his Parliament, which would lead him back into the laberinth he had now found the only way out of, and quite blast the Duke's expectations of ever seeing an end of his miseries.' But leave being given before these reasons could be writ, much less considered, the Prince of Orange made haste over, and arrived the 24th of July at Windsor: he carryed fair at first, but it soon appeared his aims were such as gave all imaginable reasons of jealousie to his Royal Highness; for, though his pretence was only succours for Flanders and Holland, yet it was easily understood that they could not be obtained but by a Parliament, and to be sure the Duke would be sacrificed as a preliminary, before one penny could be hoped for.

"When, therefore, he pressed for a Parliament, the King asked him whether, in case it should propose again the Bill of Exclusion, he would advise him to pass it? He abhorred it. 'Then,' says the King, 'but if they proposed a Limitation?' He answered, 'The Crown could not be tyed.' 'Put the case,' says his Majesty, 'that they insist upon having such officers in all employments as they can confide in, and so take the Militia,

till the King came back; the greatest business

Navy, Sea-ports, Judges, &c. out of my power!' He replied he disclaimed it. 'Why, then,' sayd the King, 'it being manifest that the Parliament has and consequently will insist upon these things, and that, notwithstanding all this, a Parliament be necessary, it behoves you to offer some measures to accommodate these contradictions;' to which he desired time to consider, and leave to speak to whom he pleased about it, which being given him, he immediately returned to dinner, where he was no sooner arrived, but my Lord Russell waited upon him, and the two Sheriffs doing the same, invited him to dine in the citie; which he readily accepted; and when my Lord Halifax, my Lord Hide, and Mr. Seymour dissuaded him from it, he replyed he had been twice in England, and had dined in the Citie both times, and knew no reason he might not do it now, but they told him the City was then in a fair correspondence, but now in a direct opposition to the King: at which he, growing angry, turned from them and sayd, 'He had promised, and he would go;' but Mr. Seymour posting upon it to Windsor to acquaint the King with what had passed, his Majesty writ to him to come immediately thither, which he durst not but comply with, though he made no difficulty of owneing how much he was troubled to break his word with his beloved citizens.

"At his return to Windsor, he renewed his solicitations that a Parliament might be speedily called; that the delaying of it had never made them more tractable; and that without it his Majesty's allies abroad would be overrun. The King said it would do them no service to assemble a Parliament and brake it immediately, which he was sure he should be neces-

I had then upon my hands was about my Lady

sitated to do; but promised (if that would satisfy him) that, in case the French invaded Flanders, he would then call one, though he was convinced they would not give him a farthing but on the conditions he had already mentioned: notwithstanding this assurance, the Prince still urged his Majesty to try them at least, for though he believed they would propose the Bill of Exclusion, yet he hoped they might be brought to consent to other expedients for security of religion: but the King, being sensible that no good could come of their meeting, and that he should lose by it all the advantage he had already got, was positive against it. Upon which the Prince desired a conference might be had at least with the Spanish and Dutch Ambassadors, which was done accordingly, and their request and reasons fully answered, which put an end to this negotiation.

"It was visible enough, from all these proceedings, that though perhaps the concern the Prince was in for Flanders and Holland might be one motive of his coming, yet it was not the chief; he was no stranger to the temper of English Parliaments, who had ever, he knew, a much greater attention to their own privileges and increase of power than to support the King's honour in foreign wars and alliances, though of their own advising; and therefore had the King, by the Prince's persuasion, been again entangled in that net he saw very well the Duke must fall in the end, and the monarchy itself grievously plumed ere any thing considerable could have been squeezed from them; and though he had so good a share in the expectancy, which the King told him would be ill policy in him to postpone to an election title, yet it is probable he was

Ogle.[1] The 7th of November I went with her on board the yacht, and conducted her below Gravesend, and came back and told my story to the King, who was very well pleased. About Christmas I

too impatient to wait for his turn, and that without doubt he aimed at that unnatural usurpation at least upon his uncle and father-in-law, which seven years after he found means to accomplish: but being disappointed for this time, and finding all his arts and arguments unsuccessful, he went away as ill satisfied with others as others were with him; for, though he was far from being able to answer particulars, yet he would never submit; for, as the King observed, he loved not to be convinced. However, he parted fair in appearance, with many protestations of affection and deference to the King at least."—Clarke's *Life of James II.*, i. 690.

[1] This Lady Ogle was the Lady Elizabeth Percy, only child of Jocelyn, eleventh Earl of Northumberland, the noblest and wealthiest of heiresses. She was born in 1667, and, when she was only twelve years old, was married to Henry Cavendish, Earl of Ogle, son and heir of Henry, Duke of Newcastle, who assumed the name of Percy, and died in 1680. She was then entrapped (it would seem) into a marriage with Mr. Thynn, but, repenting of the match, fled from him into Holland. In the following February, Mr. Thynn was assassinated by three ruffians, who shot him in his coach in the street, supposed to have been hired to murder him by a disappointed rival, the Count Koningsmark.

In May, 1682, the Lady Ogle was married to Charles Seymour, seventh Duke of Somerset, having been twice a widow,

resolved to go into Holland; the King gave me his leave. My Lord Halifax said he would write and give me caution of what I said to the Prince. He thinks he keeps correspondence with people here; is much for a Parliament.

January 7th, 1682. The answer came from France. The Ambassador would not own it.

and the third time a wife, when little more than fifteen years of age. These circumstances are alluded to in a very gross libel of Swift's, called the Windsor prophecy, in the following lines—

"And, dear England, if ought I understand,
Beware of Carrots, from Northumberland;
Carrots sown Thynne, a deep root may get,
If so be they are in Somer set;
Their Conyngs mark thou, for I have been told
They assassine when young, and poison when old.
Root out these Carrots, O thou, whose name
Is backwards and forwards always the same;*
And keep close to thee always that name
Which backwards and forwards is almost the same.†
And, England, wouldst thou be happy still,
Bury those Carrots under a Hill."‡

These "Carrots" cost Swift his bishopric. The Duchess of Somerset, hearing that the Queen had nominated him to a see, threw herself at her feet and showed her these lines, and the bishopric was given to another.

* Anna. † Masham. ‡ Lady Masham's maiden name.

Consultations upon it, and all glad to see it deferred. The foreign Ministers are of opinion that we shall have a Parliament.

9th. Lord Hide told me how the Ambassador desired to speak with him. He would have excused it, but they came and pressed for a Parliament. He put them off till the return of the messenger. He wonders at their pressing so much, for, if there should not be an agreement, Flanders would be lost. Lord Sunderland began to tell me something of his conversation with the Duchess of Portsmouth. She showed she had a mind the Prince should come.[1]

[1] "My Lord Sunderland," says James, "who was made of plyabler metal than the rest, and who, by keeping still in with the Duchess of Portsmouth, had never quite lost his hold of the Court, now, at her return from France, used all her credit, which was very great, to be readmitted to his employment again . . . . . She had observed that the King and the Duke had long and frequent conferences together, which she concluded were upon matters of State, though in reality they were concerning religion, which the King at that time had scruples about. All this made her apprehend that there was no depending upon the Duke's engagement not to meddle with business, and therefore she was resolved, if possible, to get it into her own hands or those of her creatures; which made her press so vehemently my Lord Sunderland's readmis-

10th. I had communication from the Duchess of Portsmouth, and was with the King. I told him my thoughts. He said nothing would do but a Parliament.

11th. I saw the audience of the Muscovite Ambassador. My Lord Halifax told me he was still for a Parliament; that others were not. He did not think there would be an agreement. He finds fault with the Ambassador for pressing. Says the Prince must be more of a courtier.

The Duke comes, if there be a Parliament, to answer for himself. The Duchess of Portsmouth does not go, if there be none.

12th. The King said he would write to the Prince and Lady Ogle. I was with my Lord Chancellor; he made his compliments to both, and said, he was glad to find the King show so much favour to her.

13th. I was with the Duchess of Portsmouth.

sion. . . . . In fine, though my Lord Halifax did what he could to hinder it, nothing was proof against her importunity, and my Lord Sunderland was made Secretary of State in my Lord Conway's room, who had been so in his."—Clarke's *Life of James II.*, i. 736.

She told me her story. I was at Doctors' Commons, and at my Lord of Essex. I took my leave of the King.

LADY SUNDERLAND TO MR. EVELYN.

July 27th.

I cannot have any change in our affairs happen without acquainting Mr. Evelyn, who, I hope, is my friend enough to take part in all my concerns. My Lord is this day gone to Windsor to kiss the King's hand, which I think is not to be disliked, though we must bear the descants of several people upon it. Pray be so kind as to let me hear from you, and your opinion. I am and ever will be what I profess to Mr. Evelyn.

CORRESPONDENCE

OF

THE TIMES

OF

JAMES THE SECOND AND WILLIAM THE THIRD.

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JAMES THE SECOND AND WILLIAM THE THIRD.

During the interval of nearly three years, which occurs in this Correspondence, from the middle of the year 1681 to the beginning of 1684, whilst England remained passive, her King and his chief Minister being pensioned by the King of France, Louis the Fourteenth had been extending his claims and his conquests in every direction. "No European Prince," says Russell, "since the days of Charlemagne had acted so much like a Master and a Judge as Louis XIV. The Elector Palatine and the Elector of Treves were divested of the Signories of Falkenburg, Germaisham, Valdentz, and other places, and he possessed himself of the free

and ancient city of Strasbourg; nor did he behave with less arrogance on the side of the Low Countries. He demanded the country of Alost from the Spaniards, and as it was not immediately yielded, he blockaded Luxemburg, and reduced not only that place but also Courtray and Dixmude."

The Prince of Orange, whose spirit never quailed, again came forth, and being now supported by the Marquis de Grana, the Governor of the Spanish Netherlands, a man of energy and talent, he levied his troops, and applied for aid to Spain, Germany, England, and Holland. "The result of all," says Ralph, "was that the States of Flanders granted him a large benevolence; Spain sent him remittances of money; Germany and England fair words; and Holland the eight thousand auxiliaries they were obliged by treaty to furnish. The Prince of Orange took the alarm, as if the frontiers of the Republic had been invaded; he caused the States to be assembled, and, in concert with the Pensionary Fagel, the Spanish Resident, and the whole Council of States, left no expedient untried to engage them in a new levy of sixteen thousand men. But, notwithstanding all the instances they or he could make, their High and Mighty Lord-

ships separated without coming to any resolution, under the pretence of consulting their principals upon it, which, however plausible in appearance, was no better than a trick of the French faction to gain time for starting such objections, and raising such an opposition as should end in the utter disappointment of his Highness.

"At the head of this refractory party were the Lords of Amsterdam, who were too great to be frightened, and too well practised in business to be cajoled out of their sentiments. No other expedient therefore remained but to make a solemn appeal to their principals in the name of the whole Republic, for this was one of the cases in which the consent of every city was necessary according to the fundamentals of the Dutch Constitution. Accordingly, a solemn Deputation was sent from the States to the Magistracy of the City, at the head of which the Prince of Orange condescended to be placed; and after him, by way of spokesman, the Grand Pensionary Fagel. But, notwithstanding all this parade, his Highness, except in the ceremonial, had no reason to be satisfied with his mission. He was indeed received with much outward pomp, but with little inward respect; for the men of power and interest, looking upon this

splendid embassy as an attempt to dazzle the people on one side and to exasperate them on the other, took timely care to bespeak such a disposition as should render his whole project abortive. Thus the Pensionary exhausted the whole force of his eloquence and authority in a long harangue to the Magistracy and Council, and also left them a copy of it in writing for their more mature consideration; it was the next day resolved, by the voice of the city, not to agree to the levy; and, with this answer, his Highness immediately left the place, not only disappointed but enraged to find that France had a better interest in the first city of the Seven Provinces than he."[1]

This was the condition of Holland at the time when Bentinck writes to Sidney.

MR. BENTINCK[2] TO MR. SIDNEY.

De la Haye, 22 Fevrier, 1684.

Je viens de recevoir la votre du 29 du mois passé V. S. Je vous advoue, Monsieur, que nos affaires sont dans un estat que vous doive faire un

[1] Ralph, i. 810.

[2] William Bentinck, afterwards Earl of Portland, was a native of Holland, and of a great and noble family in the province of Guelderland. Early in life, he entered the service of the Prince of Orange, to whom, through the whole course

peu de peine, si vous avez quelque bonne volonté pour nous, comme j'en suis assuré. Il est vray que quand nous souffrirons, vous ne serez pas long-temps a votre aise, et peut estre quand nous sommes a demi perdus, l'on ne se servira de nous pour vous conquerir. Je suis bien surpris de ce que vous

of it, he proved himself a zealous and devoted servant and friend; of this he gave the strongest proof when the Prince was attacked, in 1675, by the small-pox. Bentinck never left his Master's room, caught the infection from him, and narrowly escaped with life. In all the battles in which the Prince was engaged, Bentinck, who had the command of the Dutch Regiment of Guards, fought by his side, and he accompanied him to England in 1688, having taken a most active part in making every preparation for that invasion. Honour and wealth, which excited the envy and indignation of the English, were the reward of his services. In 1689 he was created Earl of Portland, Baron Cirencester, and Viscount Woodstock, and large grants from confiscated estates were made to him to support these titles. In 1696, he received the Order of the Garter, and was made Lieutenant-General of the Forces. He was severely wounded at the battle of Lauden, and he negociated the peace of Ryswick. In 1700, Lord Portland was impeached by the House of Commons for the part he had taken in advising and transacting the Partition Treaty; he was attacked too for the grants he had received out of the forfeited estates in Ireland, when the House came to the resolution of resuming them.

Bentinck lived to find himself, to a certain extent, supplanted in the affections of his Master by a younger favourite,

dites estre etonné de ce que nos gens qui ne sont pas fort eclairey ne comprennent pas les affaires comme il faut; la tête leur tourne par la crainte du danger, mais nous sommes subjet d'admirer la con-

Keppel; and he threw up his appointments, and retired from public life. In the closing hours of William's life the attachment to his old and faithful friend revived, and he died in his arms. After the King's death he retired to Bulstrode, where he died, in 1709, in the sixty-first year of his age.

Speaking of the two favourites of William, Keppel and Bentinck, Burnet says: "Keppel was not cold nor dry as the Earl of Portland was thought to be, who seemed to have the art of creating many enemies to himself, and not one friend; but the Earl of Albemarle had all the arts of a Court, was civil to all, and procured many favours. The Earl of Portland observed the progress of this favour with great uneasiness; they grew to be not only incompatible, as all rivals for favour must needs be, but to hate and oppose one another in all things, by which the King's affairs suffered much; the one had more of the confidence, and the other much more of the favour. The King had heaped many grants on the Earl of Portland, and had sent him Ambassador to France, upon the peace, where he appeared with great magnificence, and at a vast expense, and had many very unusual respects put upon him by that King and all that Court; but, upon his return, he could not bear the visible superiority in favour that the other was grown to, so he took occasion from a small preference that was given him, in prejudice of his own post as Groom of the Stole, and upon it withdrew from the Court, and laid

duite de vostre cour et ministère qui devoit estre plus eclairé et qui cependant comprend ses intêrests tout autrement que tout le reste du monde.

L'on concerte hautement avec Monsieur Van Beuninghen et tous ceux de la Regence d'Amsterdam.[1] Monsieur Chudley y a eté deux ou trois jours, et en est revenu hier au soir. Je vous prie de me dire si ce n'est pas maintenir publiquement un parti dans l'estat contre Monsieur le Prince, sans seulement vouloir sauver les apparences. L'on repete les conditions de la trêve proposée pour nous obliger à des conditions plus honteuses et ruineuses. Nos affaires paroissent dans un etat desesperé si

down all his employments. The King used all possible means to divert him from this resolution, but, without prevailing upon him, he consented to serve the King in his affairs, but would not return to any post in his household; and, not long after, he was employed in the new negociations set on foot for the succession to the Crown of Spain." — Burnet's *Hist.* iv. 402.

[1] Speaking of the character of Van Beuninghen, Burnet says: "His temper was inconstant, firm, and positive for a while, but apt to change from a giddiness of mind rather than from any falsehood in his nature. He broke twice with the Prince after he came into confidence with him. He employed me to reconcile him to him for the third time, but the Prince said he could not trust him any more." — Burnet's *Hist.* i. 573.

l'Angleterre nous donne à dos, mais prenney garde que tombent dans le desespoir, nous ne dissions comme Sampson, quant il arracha le pilier qui sontenoit la maison, "perisse donc Samson avec les Philistines." Nos trouppes ont ordre cependant de se tenir prets pour marcher au pais bas Espagnols, et nous tachons de pousser nos levées autant que nous pourrons. Nous partous cette nuit pour La Zelande qui n'a pas encore consentie dans la levée.

Je crois avoir trouvé un jardinier pour Madame de Sunderlant, mais il me demande beaucoup de gage, parcequ'il faut sortir du pays, ce que ce sorte de gens ont de la peur à faire. Mandez moi je vous prie quels gages on donne d'ordinaire a un jardinier en Angleterre, et faite moy faire par quelqu'un qui se entende un memoire des fleurs que je pourrois envoyer, qui ne sont pas communes en ce pais la, car d'envoyer les choses qui sont ordinaires cela ne vaudroit pas la peine.

Je m'etonne de cette conduite de Milord Danby. Je plains Mrs. Crofts de la mort du Conte de St. Albans, et de la perte de sa pupille, c'en est trop à la fois. Soyez toujours assuré, Monsieur, que je seray toute ma vie inviolablement à vous.

SIR ROBERT SOUTHWELL TO MR. EVELYN.[1]

King's Weston, near Bristol, 3rd November, 1684.

Honoured Sir,

Since my retirement hither I have been so much in the mortar as to multiply walks and walls, and have begun to be a planter. Your fine holly hedge tempted me to an essay for the like in a length of above 300 feet; but the last winter and summer gave me a severe rebuke, killing, as I fear, half the sets. The rest are alive, and many of them with leaf, and I will persist to cultivate with care and patience till all be restored and in a way of growth.

My next desire is to abound in hedges of yews. I would plant it against the walls of two large courts,[2] and in other places, so as now and here-

[1] This and the following letter are in the collection of Mr. Upcott.

[2] The yew-trees referred to in this and the following letter no longer exist in their original number. At the time referred to by Sir Robert Southwell, the public high road went close in front of King's Weston House. It was subsequently thrown far away into its present position in the centre of the park; and the road to the house being carried through the Court-yard, many of these cherished yew-trees were sacrificed to modern taste.

after to extend it for 5 or 600 yards, or more. My seat is somewhat bleak, and therefore I choose this green as that which no cold will hurt, and I am told it will grow as much in three years as holly in five.

Now, seeing I need so much, it had been good husbandry to have begun with seeds, and to have raised my sets, but that I omitted, and you note in your book that they peep not up till the second year.

Wherefore, calling at a gardener, who has a nursery of them, he demands at the rate of 12*d.* for every set of a foot high. Pray cannot you put me into better hands, and tell me where to be supplied on such reasonable terms as I may find it easy to further this design of having store of yews?

Next I desire to know how far asunder I may plant these sets, so as in time to rush and close into a hedge, and whether I may not plant philareas between them, which grow fast, and may be cut away as the others grow up, and capable by spreading to fill the room. This I chiefly propose in the two courts, where I would have the walls lined with this future tapestry of yews. But here I meet in opposition the opinion of the country of its noxious quality to cattle, who will be browsing

the greens they can come at. If this be experimentally true, then I must be at the charge of railing in where it is possible the cattle may come at it.

I have a nursery of firs from seeds I had from Coningsberg, of two or three years' growth. I am thinking, in April, to transplant them, and desire to know if the distance of ten feet be not sufficient for this naked tree. For the next place, I desire to know if these trees will by their dropping endanger the holly hedge which I have set, and which is to grow up close by them.

Pardon, I pray, the impertinency of a young Planter, who, having the honour of your book, and that in gift, is encouraged to bring his doubts and scruples to you.

My son gives his most humble duty, and I am ever

Your most obedient and most humble servant,

ROBERT SOUTHWELL.

SIR ROBERT SOUTHWELL TO MR. EVELYN.

King's Weston, 8th January, 1684-5.

Honoured Sir,

I will not trouble you with the accidents of this late acknowledgment to so full and so obliging

a letter as I had from you of the 11th of November last. I will fall directly to our plants, which, perhaps, will pass with you as the properest commutation.

I am here in a bleak situation, which has inclined me to affect such greens as best resist all weathers. I shall, in the Spring, proceed by all those cautions you give in reference to the holly. I have King's Wood near at hand, and so can with ease take reprisals for what I lost the last winter, which, perhaps, was full one half of what I planted. With my cypress-trees I had much better fortune, for of twenty-two I lost but one, having exposed the rest as you prescribe. I had a bay-tree, and so beautiful as it deserved painting; the body thereof was of the thickness of my leg, quite cloven through with the cold; but, being cut close to the ground, I have this year several shoots of two feet high. I have most flourishing laurels, which were not touched; and, though the artichokes and rosemary quite quick round me were destroyed, yet I have hopeful offsprings of both, which did escape. Thus you see I brag of[1]

, but I take the better aim to proceed in the future, and to become most conversant with

[1] Illegible.

that which will best take care for itself—I mean the propagation of yew.

Upon the receipt of your letter, which did truly enlighten me how to proceed herein, and to avoid the extravagant demands of the gardeners, which from London was 16*d.*, and from Oxford at 6*d.* the slip, and these at last not to be had, it came into my head at last to send two fellows into the Forest of Deane, which is but ten or twelve miles off, but on the other side of the Severn. This I did; and in one week they brought me home 360 plants, all admirably rooted, and in size from one to four and five feet high, though generally from two to three.

It was about the middle of the last month when I received this stock, and I presently set 200 of them in a court and elsewhere, in order to the lining of the walls, and because they cost me, all charges borne, but three farthings per plant. I sent my leathern ambassadors once more again that so I might have choice to my mind; and they, in one other week, brought me home a like quantity as before. 'Tis true the frost and Xmas have hitherto hindered our further proceedings; but I resolve to line all my walls with this plant, which you so celebrate, and do hope, though you do

recommend the shade as most propitious to them, yet, considering from how barren a nursery they are taken, and how well I am provided to load them with water, that they may prosper even against a south wall. But now give me leave to own to you a prospect that I am almost intoxicated withall, and which has sprung from this choice and plenty of yew-trees, which I find at hand. My parlour-garden has a fair opening into my orchard, and in the middle of this there is a space left of 120 yards long and 20 feet broad, in which I designed a walk of the black walnuts, but now I resolved to take rather what is at hand, and to erect in this place a close walk of yews, which, if I can arrive to, it will be the only close winter-walk that I have here.

In order hereunto, I will hold the breadth of 20 feet, but in the rows the trees shall stand only at 6 feet distance. Every second tree shall have the principal or master branch left growing straight, as for ornament; but all the rest to be banded in due time, till they meet from either side and fulfil the close covering or canopy pretended. This is the thing in general I would be at, and I tell it to you with earnest expectation of your opinion and

assistance. I would know how high the roof ought to be for this length and breadth, or how high we may expect it, and what care is to be exercised to have all things prosper.

The trees I am going to plant are, some of them, four, some five foot high, and strippt to the two upper stories. I take the greatest care of those from whom we may expect a topping branch, and less of each second tree, which is to be wholly bent over, and I venture on him, though his top or head branch be broken off. I consider when any fail, we can send to the forest for just the true size we want; and if you think the bottoms of all these trees will remain naked and so admit more sun and wind than would be fit, we may for remedy place between each four either the same brushy plants or some slips which will come up soon enough for the rest. This walk runs E.S.E. and W.N.W., and the soil is a good rich land which produces excellent apples, and in the meadows adjoining very good hay.

But, while I am triumphing in these rustic attempts, as a courtier turned clown, I received from my Lord Weymouth a terrible mortification, for he tells me it is more than probable all my trees will

die; that the sap of evergreens is now more up than in any other season, and that March or August are the only fit times to remove them. His Lordship has this last season put into the ground of all sorts not less than ten thousand plants. He deals with the four Cardinal gardeners, and I fear it is from one of them this sentence against my yews is directed. If they prove fallible I suffer not, but if otherwise, I hope by March next I may see my fault, and then return and take new councils from the good Forest of Deane. Sir, I take the boldness to expound all this matter before you, that you may kindly animadvert and instruct me in what you see amiss.

I have two generations of fir-trees, which I raised from slender cones, which I procured from ——the one are of three years' growth, the other of two, which I found of the same kind the year after. The first I am thinking to transplant in April next into their proper stations, as being ten feet high; the others are still very low, which makes me fear my land's rich soil may be too good for them; and if you judge it necessary for me to alloy it, pray let me have your advice, though the gardeners here think very well of it, and in Ger-

many I saw nothing for five or six hundred miles but sand, in which they grow.

I know I have tired you, and yet, for a little variety, give me leave to acquaint you that here in my neighbourhood is one Rogers, a learned famous Quaker. He has erected a cider-mill, which I went, a while since, being four miles off, to visit. 'Tis seated on the Severne, and he buys up all the apples, pears, and crabs of the forest or elsewhere. He has the river his friend for exporting as well as importing. His mill goes with three horses; the apples are squeezed by two iron rollers, somewhat indented; he grinds 500 bushels in a day. He could make one thousand hogsheads in a season if he had vent for it, but had yet not exceeded 680 in one year. He has some rare skill in making it generally good and in all kinds. He sends it to the West Indies, as well as to Ireland and the neighbourhood of Bristol, and is himself an export merchant. His general price is £4 per hogshead, and for some £5; and if any fail of being excellent in the kind, he is so tender of his credit, which is in order to his greater gain, that he converts all the inferior sort to vinegar or brandy, in which also he drives a vigorous trade. He squeezes all in en-

gines, so as in some to equal the weight or pressure of forty tons.

My son is not a little proud that you vouchsafe to make mention of him. He says he will strive to deserve it. He has lately been dealing with the square and cube roots, and is now going to taste of Euclid.

May you and your Lady and prosperous offspring live as happy a year as either my wishes or your own conversation can afford.

I am ever, with great acknowledgment of your favours,

Sir, your most affectionate
And most humble servant,
ROBERT SOUTHWELL.

MR. BENTINCK TO MR. SIDNEY.

De la Haye, 24e Februaire, 1685.

Notre surprise n'a pas esté mediocre, en apprenant la mort du Roy devant que d'avoir rien appris de sa maladie. Notre perte est assez grande pour nous occuper toutes nos pensées, et pour remplir nos esprits de crainte pour la religion Protestante. Mais le bon Dieu, qui en est le protecteur, tient les

cœurs des Rois dans sa main, et les incline vers où il lui plait. Je vous puis assurer en toute sincerité, Monsieur, que je participe à votre douleur, et prends beaucoup de part dans la grande perte que vous avey faite, puisque l'estime et l'amitié que j'auray toute ma vie pour vous est personelle, et en reconnoissance des obligations que je vous ay, Monsieur, de mille civilités. Vous pouvey estre assuré dans quel estat sera vostre fortune, mes ardents souhaites seront toujours pour vous, et je seray toujours egallement et inviolablement à vous.

MR. BENTINCK TO MR. SIDNEY.

Dieren, 11e Mars, 85.

J'éspère que vous me faites assez de justice pour estre persuadé, Monsieur, que c'est avec bien de la joye que j'ay veu, dans vostre lettre à son altesse, les obligeantes assurances que le Roy vous a faites d'estre satisfait de vous, et de ne point pretendre que vous perdiez rien à votre charge; le train que prennent les affaires m'en donne aussi beaucoup: son Altesse fera assurement tout ce que le Roy peut attendre de lui sauf la religion, je croy que

vous le connoissey assez pour savoir qu'il ne fait pas ordinaire les choses à demi. Je vous assure que l'opinion que j'ay de l'issue de cette affaire est plus fondée sur le jugement avantageux que vous en faites à ce que m'a dit Monsieur d'Alonne que sur celui de tout autre. Je ne reiterey pas mes protestations d'une sincère amitié.

MR. BENTINCK TO MR. SIDNEY.

De la Haye, ce 7e d'Avril, 1684 .

Le peu de nouvelles que je recois de vous, Monsieur, me confirme dans le sentiment ou j'ay esté depuis longtemps que vous n'avez rien de bon a me dire, mais si cela estoit une raison suffisante pour m'empecher d'escrire, vous n'auriez pas baucoup de mes lettres car nos affaires vont tousjours leur grant chemin, c'est à dire celui qui conduit a nostre perte generale, les lettres de France disent que les propositions que nous avons faits d'une treve i trouvent quelque approbation, du moins pour ce qui concerne les Pays bas Espagnols, et cependant vous les avez rejettez comme une proposition desraisonnable, j'admire tousjours comment vous pouvez

continuer une telle conduitte qui asseurera vostre ruine aussi bien que la nostre.

Je n'ai pas encore peu trouver un jardinier pour madame la Comtesse de Sunderlant qui fuit raisonnablement bon, cependant je feray tout ce qui me sera possible pour obeir a ses ordres. Celui que j'ay envoyé pour achepter les chevaus pour Mrs. Nelly n'est pas encore de retour, mais je l'attens tous les jours l'on a de la peine a treuver dans peu de temps des beaus chevaus qui assortissent bien ensemble, je vous prie que je puisse avoir de vos nouvelles plus souvent que vous pourrez, Monsieur, vous asseurant que je seray toutte ma vie à vous de toutte mon ame.

THE PRINCE OF ORANGE TO JAMES II.[1]

Forttaersdyke, June 25th, 85.

I would not have failed to have answered the letter which your Majesty did me the honour to write me by the last post, if Mr. Sidney had not been going away. I cannot dissemble with your Majesty that I could have wished your Majesty had thought proper to have left him here, since I can assure you that there never was a minister in this

[1] Extracted from Dalrymple's Memoirs, ii. 18.

country who succeeded better, or who did you more faithful services. It is also impossible that any person can be more zealous to your service, for which I can answer. And these are the reasons which made me and all honest people of this country regret him, and which have obliged me to give him the regiment of the deceased Earl of Ossory, and the command in chief of your Majesty's subjects in the service. The States not having thought proper in this time of peace to dispose of the charge of General, of which Mr. Sidney will inform your Majesty more particularly, and of what has passed here upon that affair, I doubt not your Majesty will approve of the choice I have made, since assuredly I could not have found a person who would have been more faithful to your interests, for which I will remain his pledge.

I entreat your Majesty not to take it amiss that I represent to you anew the hurt you will do your interest in this country, if you send Mr. Skelton to it. I have nothing to say against his person, and am even inclined to believe they did him wrong in what he was accused of; but it is a thing that can never be removed from the imaginations of people here, and I have besides other

reasons upon which I explained myself at large in a letter which I wrote last post to Lord Hyde, which, without doubt, he will have communicated to your Majesty; so that I hope you will not mortify me so far as to send any one here with whom I cannot live in good intelligence. That, however, will not prevent me from endeavouring to serve your Majesty with the same ardour and application which I have always done, and nothing can happen which can make me change the fixed inclination and attachment which I have for your interests, and I shall be the most unhappy man in the world if you were not persuaded of it, and should not have the goodness to continue me a little in your good graces, since I shall be to the last breath of my life, with more zeal and fidelity than any one can be,

Your Majesty's

MR. BENTINCK TO MR. SIDNEY.

Dieren, 22e Octobre, —85.

Depuis deux jours nous sommes de rétour ici, après que son Altesse a terminé la dispute qu'il avoit avec Messrs. de Leyden, entièrement à sa satisfaction. Vous serez extrêmement surpris d'apprendre le changement qui est arrivé dans

nostre cour. Son Altesse ayant eu par hasard une lettre[1] qui faisoit voir que Dr. Covel[2] depuis long-temps a esté le malicieux espion de la maison, qui a rapporté beaucoup de choses forgées pour nuire; sur quoy S. A. R. Madame l'a fait chasser, sans lui faire aucun autre châtiment à cause de son caractère; et comme l'on a trouvé

[1] Dr. Covell had succeeded Ken as Chaplain to the Princess of Orange.

[2] DR. COVELL'S LETTER TO MR. SKELTON.

Dieren, Oct. 5th-15th, 1685.

Your honour may be astonished at the news, but it is too true, the Princess's heart is ready to break, and yet she every day with Mrs. Jesson and Madame Zulystein counterfeits the greatest joy, and looks upon us as dogged as may be. We dare no more speak to her: the Prince hath infallibly made her a complete slave, and there's an end of it. I wish to God I could see the King give you some good thing for your life, for I would have it out of the power of any revocation, for I assure you I fear the Prince will for ever rule the roast. As for Mr. Chudleigh, if his business be not done before the power of the Prince, before the King die, Mr. Chudleigh will be in an ill taking: but I wonder what the devil makes the Prince so cold to you. None but pimps and bawds must expect any tolerable usage here. * * * * * * *
The Princess is just now junketing with Madame Bentinck and Mrs. Jesson in Madame Zuleystein's chamber.

Believe me, worthy Sir, &c.

Rochester Correspondence, i. 165.

clairement que Madame Langfort et Miss. Trelauney ont été de concert avec lui, Madame les a envoyées aussi ce matin. C'est une chose horrible que des gens soit assez mechants pour vouloir nuire à ceux qui leur donnent le pain, mais bien pire encore que des Ministres soyent capables de cela. Le second Chapelain Langfort est aussi de l'intrigue. Je ne me plains pas de la malice que des gens ont temoigné à mon egard, après que je vois qu'il trahissent leur maître et maîtresse. Je vous supplie de me mander si vous avez parlé à quelqu'un de l'histoire qui charitablement a esté faite a nos depens, comme si nous avions manqué de rendre nos respects à son A. R. Madame suffisament à nostre arrivée à Hounslerdyke, et que je puisse savoir ce que l'on a dit. Je ne puis pas vous rien dire sur nostre affaire si non qu'elle n'en finit pas; mais je n'ay point de sujet de me louer de mon beau-frère. Je vous prie de croire que je suis toujours de tout mon cœur à vous.

MR. BENTINCK TO MR. SIDNEY.

Dieren, ce 18e d'Avril, 1686.

Je vous asseure que c'est avec infiniment de la joye et du plaisir que je songe au voyage que vous

me promettez de vouloir faire. Je croy que difficilement vous iriez au lieu ou vous seriez receu de si bon cœur.

Nous allons le commencement de la semaine prochaine à Loo, ou je croy que nous demeurerons jusque au commencement du mois de May, quant nous rétournerons vers la kermesse à la Haye, et d'abort après nous irons à Hounslerdyke : le battau qui est monté le Rhyn pour chercher les provisions pour son Altesse est attendu dans quinze jours, il faudra s'il vous plaist que vous songiez à loisir à quelque bonne occasion devant que les chaleurs viennent, car alors les vins ne se transportent pas si bien.

Je vous prie de dire a Monsieur le Grand Tressorier que ce n'est pas ma faute si cela tarde longtemps ; j'espère qu'il en sera mieux servi, qu'il en veut encore de quelques autres espèces, il n'a qu'à choisir ; il i aura de vins Hochem, de Bacherach, de Rinchonio, et de Moselle, et je croy qu'il i aura aussi du *Deele Wyn* qui est estimé en Angleterre à ce qui me semble. Vous n'avez qu'a m'ordonner ce que vous voulez et pour un fort petit profit je vous serviray. Je vous prie de ne point oublier mon vin de palme devant que la chaud vienne.

Son Altesse voudroit bien aussi en estre pourveu qu'il n'en peut trouver d'avantage, j'attendray à repondre à la lettre de Monsieur Houward jusques à ce que je lui pourray repondre quelque chose de plus qu'un compliment, puisque je feray ceque je pourray pour le servir dans son affaire. Continuez moi toujours, Monsieur, l'honneur de vostre amitié et soyez asseuré que tant que j'auray de la vie je seray toujours à vous.

THE COUNTESS OF SUNDERLAND TO THE PRINCE OF ORANGE.[1]

March 7th, 1687.

At the distance that Mr. Sidney is, I am in a great strait how to let your Highness know a matter which appears to me very necessary you should be acquainted with; and however strange it may seem to you my undertaking to write to

[1] This letter has been published by Dalrymple, with the following remarks: "Soon after Mr. Dykvelt arrived in England, the Countess of Sunderland sent a messenger to Holland with the following letter to the Prince of Orange, of the affectation and mysteriousness of which the reader will form what judgment he thinks proper. My own suspicion is, that the letter was her husband's dictation, and the postscript her own."—Dalrymple, Appendix to Book V. 58.

you, which is what I never did before, and upon a subject you may think unfit for me to meddle in, had I the honour to be known to you, I think it better not to trouble you any further with apologies, but humbly to beg a suspension of your opinion of me till you see Mr. Sidney, who will do me the right, I am sure, to tell you that I am not apt to meddle in these affairs; and as I do only trust him, so I think nothing but your service could tempt me to break through a difficulty of this kind that may seem bold to you, and if by any accident in the way should be known, ruin to myself: but I shall pass by all that to let you know the business now on foot here.

Your Highness is not ignorant, I am sure, what endeavours have been used here to gain votes in parliament for repealing the test and penal laws, upon which I suppose you know several have and do quit their places rather than submit to; which makes the Roman Catholics see they are not likely to carry it that way, which brings me to that which I think it is of importance you should know, that the last essay they will put in practice as to the parliament is to flatter Monsieur Dixfield with a great many fine things, that there shall be an entire union between England and

Holland; nay, farther, I am sure they intend to make you the finest offers in the world, as your having a full power in military and civil affairs by naming all officers; that Ireland shall be put into what hands you will, and for all this they ask you to bid Monsieur Dixfield and Monsieur Citters declare in your name, that you wish the Parliament would take off these laws, and that you think it reasonable they should do so. By this means they fancy they shall compass their point, which, when done, I think 'tis plain the article on your part is upon record, theirs only verbal; your Highness is the best judge of the likelihood of its being performed.

But with submission to your better judgment in all things, I must beg leave, being here, and hearing many of your faithful servants that are acquainted with the temper of the nation at present talk of this matter, of the industry that is used to take off these laws, to give you both theirs and my opinion in this matter; that if there were a possibility for you to be brought to do what they will ask of you, it will only have this effect, that it will create jealousies of your Highness here, which may be of very ill consequence to you, and

even your joining in it would never do their business; I mean the repealing the laws. Another point is, it is possible it would gain the making people jealous of you, which I believe is the second point they value in this commerce. But I have not apprehension enough of your being caught with those fine offers, so have given you this trouble. But how far the offers may touch the ambassadors I did not know, for I am sure there is no offers nor no dangers that will not be very artificially showed Monsieur Dickfield.

For the last, I am sure there is nothing they need apprehend; and I think the offers are full as slight. But a negotiation on any commerce of this kind cannot be to your advantage, but infinitely the contrary, which is the only inducement I have in sending this man with this intelligence, in which I have been so cautious that the bearer does not know he comes from me, or that he has any letter of mine. I have only writ to Monsieur Bentinck a letter about my garden, and inclosed one for the Princess, in which I have made bold to put this, for which I most humbly beg you will ask her pardon, and bestow yours upon the faithfullest and humblest of your servants,

A. SUNDERLAND.

I must beg leave of your Highness to inclose a letter for Mr. Sidney, who I hope will be with you very soon; and till he comes, I beseech you to make no answer to my letter, for fear of accident; for this had gone to you two posts ago, but that an accident happened that I thought was better to let pass over. Some Papists the other day, that are not satisfied with my Lord, said, that my Lord Sunderland did not dance in a net, for they very well knew that, however he made the King believe, he thought of nothing but carrying on his business; there was dispensations in Holland as well as from Rome, and that they were sure I held a correspondence with the Princess of Orange.

This, sir, happened the day I first heard of their design to make these propositions which I have writ, which made me defer sending till the King had spoke to me of it, which he has done; and as I could very truly, so I did assure his Majesty I never had the honour to have any commerce with the Princess, but about treacle-water, or work, or some such slight thing; so I did likewise as truly assure his Majesty that if there ever had been any commerce, I should never be ashamed, but, on the contrary, proud to own it, seeing he must be sure

that the Princess could never be capable of any thing with any body to his disservice. Now how this fancy came into their heads I can't imagine, but that they have a mind to do mischief; for, as your Highness knows, I never had the honour to write to you at all till now; so the Princess knows I have been so unhappy to have very little acquaintance with her, till of late I have had the obligation to my Lady Semple and Mr. Sidney to have had an occasion of writing to her, which I value, and will endeavour to continue and improve by all the zeal and esteem for her that I am capable of to my last breath.

I have the ill luck to write a very bad hand, which, if your Highness cannot read plain, which few can, I humbly beg you will keep it till Mr. Sidney comes, who is used to my hand. If at this man's return I can but hear my letter came safe, and that you pardon the liberty I have taken, I shall be very much at ease. If, by the bearer your Highness will be pleased to let me know my letter came safe to you, I shall think myself very happy.

THE PRINCESS ANNE TO THE PRINCESS OF ORANGE.[1]

March 13th, —87-88.

This letter going by sure hands, I will now venture to write my mind very freely to you.

You may remember I have once before ventured to tell you, that I thought Lord Sunderland a very ill man, and I am more confirmed every day in that opinion. Every body knows how often this man turned backwards and forwards in the late King's time, and now, to complete all his virtues, he is working with all his might to bring in Popery. He is perpetually with the Priests, and stirs up the King to do things faster than I believe he would of himself. Things are come to that pass now, that if they go on so much longer, I believe, in a little while, no Protestant will be able to live here. ... ...

... ...

This worthy Lord does not go publicly to mass, but hears it privately at a priest's chamber, and never lets any body be there but a servant of his.

His lady, too, is as extraordinary in her kind, for she is a flattering, dissembling, false woman,

[1] Dalrymple.—Appendix to Book V. 169.

but she has so fawning and endearing a way, that she will deceive any body at first, and it is not possible to find out all her ways in a little time. She cares not at what rate she lives, but never pays any body. She will cheat, though it be for a little. Then she has had her gallants, though may be not so many as some ladies here; and with all these good qualities she is a constant church-woman, so that to outward appearance one would take her for a saint, and, to hear her talk, you would think she was a very good Protestant; but she is as much one as the other, for it is certain that her Lord does nothing without her.

One thing there is, which I forgot to tell you, about this noble Lord, which is, that it is thought, if every thing does not go as he would have it, that he will pick a quarrel with the Court, and so retire, and by that means it is possible he will think he makes his Court to you.

THE PRINCESS ANNE TO THE PRINCESS OF ORANGE.[1]

Cock Pit, March 20, 1687.

... ...

I cannot end my letter without telling you that Rogers's wife (Lady Sunderland) plays the hypo-

[1] Dalrymple.

crite more than ever; for she goes to St. Martin's, morning and afternoon, because there are not people enough to see her at Whitehall Chapel, and is half an hour before other people come, and half an hour after every body is gone, at her private devotions. She runs from church to church after the famousest preachers, and keeps such a clatter with her devotions, that it really turns one's stomach. Sure there never was a couple so well matched as she and her good husband, for as she is throughout in all her actions the greatest jade that ever was, so is he the subtillest workinest villain that is on the face of the earth.

LE MARECHAL SCHOMBERG[1] A MONSIEUR SIDNEY.

Berlin, 25 Septembre, 87.

J'ay reçu ce matin la lettre que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire de Loo, et j'y repons par

[1] Marshal Schomberg, the son of Count Schomberg and of the daughter of an English nobleman, the Lord Dudley, was born in the year 1619. He was a soldier from his boyhood, and there was scarcely a country or a service in Europe in which he was not engaged during some period of his life, and always with distinguished honour.

A firm adherent to the Protestant religion, he was obliged to

une occasion bien sure, le my Lord Leueun m'ayant dit qu'il part pour aller trouver Monsieur son père en Holande, et vous dira les nouvelles de ce pays ici mieux que je ne vous puis les mander. Il y a assez d'intrigues en cette cour qui feroit une

leave France, when the persecutions of that party, consequent upon the revolution, began; and he went to Prussia, where the Elector of Brandenburgh received him gladly, and appointed him to be Governor of Berlin. It is at this period of his life that this letter to Sidney was written. At Sidney's suggestion, the Prince of Orange invited him to accompany him in his expedition to England; and, when the Prince was raised to the throne, Marshal Schomberg was created a Duke. The House of Commons voted him £100,000 for his services, and he was appointed to the command of the forces in Ireland. He fell at the battle of the Boyne. Burnet describes him as "a calm man, of great application and conduct, who thought much better than he spoke; of true judgment, of exact probity, and of an humble and obliging temper." The following anecdote illustrative of his manliness and honesty is mentioned in Mr. Jesse's Memoirs of the Court of England, just published. The most severe reproof was that which Lord Churchill received from the gallant veteran, Marshal Schomberg. When the traitor arrived in the camp of the Prince of Orange, (notwithstanding the defection of a man of his high rank was of the utmost importance to the cause of the Prince), Schomberg was unable to conceal his abhorrence of the act. "You are the first Lieutenant General," he said, "whom I ever remember to have deserted his colours."

grande histoire, d'ordinaire les affaires de Princes n'en vont pas mieux quand ils ne travaillent pas à les estouffer. Mais venons à nos affaires en Angleterre. Il me paroit que le Roy les establit pour pouvoir mieux brouiller la religion protestante, la quelle devroit s'unir à tous les austres pour empêcher la Romaine. Les Jesuites ne cesseront à encourager le Roy à tout hazarder, pendant qu'il a encors de la santé.

Je ne me doute pas que Monsieur le Prince d'Orange n'aye par sa prudence bien penetré dans touts ces desseins, et pensé aux moyens de les prévenir autaut qu'il est possible. Mandez moy, Monsieur, si vous vous arresterez en Holande, car vos voyages jusques en Italie sont trop escartes. J'aime mieux vous voir proche de Monsieur le Prince d'Orange, car vous scavez que quelque fois les affaires d'Angleterre vont d'une grande rapidité. Je ne scay pas si le Roy d'Angleterre ne cherchera pas à vous en eloigner.

Je vous suplie, monsieur, de me donner quelquefois de vos nouvelles. La lettre que vous m'avez écrite est donne a monsieur de Ruvigny et il a y repondu, et peu après je vous en ay encore escrite une autre de Lisbone par la quelle je vous donnois avis

de mon dessein de passer à La Haye pour voir Monsieur le Prince d'Orange pour qui j'ay toujours eu un grand respect ; et cela est encors augmanté depuis que j'ay eu l'honneur de le voir et Madame la Princesse Royale, et ce n'est pas sans souhaits de les pouvoir voir un jour bien establi en Angleterre. Il n'y a rien que je ne sacrifiasse pour cela, et ce me seroit une grande satisfaction de nous trouver ensemble dans des occasions où nous leur pussions rendre service.

Je vous suplie, Monsieur, de me conserver toujours quelque part dans l'honneur de vos bonnes graces, et d'estre persuadé que vous n'avez pas d'amis ny de parent qui est plus veritablement que ne le suis votre très humble et très obeissant serviteur,

LE MARECHAL SCHOMBERG.

THE COUNTESS OF SUNDERLAND TO THE PRINCE OF ORANGE.

December 23rd, 87.

Sir,

When there is such an occasion as Mr. Sidney has offered me of writing by one of your High-

ness's servants, I could not forgive myself if I did neglect returning you my humble thanks for the honour of your letter by Mr. Sidney. I do think myself very happy to have done any thing you like and accept, and which I can never fail of, if ever it were in my power to express my zeal and affection for your service, which can never alter but with my life. Till this opportunity, I durst not so much as return your Highness my thanks for your favourable reception of my instructions; and I have at present so great a headache, that I have writ if possible a stranger hand than ordinary, but yet I could not lose this opportunity of assuring you of my being, with all the duty as well as inclination,[1]

Sir, &c.

MR. SIDNEY TO THE PRINCE OF ORANGE.

June 30th, 1688.

The bearer hereof carrying with him a letter from the most prudent and most knowing persons that we have in this nation, and he himself being well instructed in the condition of our affairs, it is

[1] This and the following letter are taken from Dalrymple's Memoirs; they are introduced here, as in other cases, to preserve the series of the correspondence.

a presumption in me to think of adding any thing else; but you, having ever given me leave to speak freely to you, I have ever told you every thought of my heart. I am too much concerned for your interest, your life, and your reputation, to say a word of persuasion to you to undertake this matter. You know your own business best, what power you have over the fleet and army, and whether you can transport men with privacy, for it is most certain that, if it be made public a fortnight before it be put in execution, all your particular friends will be clapped up, which will terrify others, or at least make them not know what to do, and will, in all probability, ruin the whole design. If you go on with this undertaking, I think I shall not do amiss to put you in mind of one man that, I believe, will be very useful to you; it is the Marechal Schomberg, who (by what you told me of him, and by what he writ to me) I doubt not but he will be ready to serve you. He hath the reputation, all the world over, of being knowing in his profession; and besides he is extremely beloved in this country, so that if you could borrow him for a while, it would be of great advantage to this affair.

I give you many thanks for yours by Monsieur

Zulestien, and the particular favour in it. I am indeed of opinion that, if you think fit to go on with this business, after three weeks I shall be more serviceable to you near your person than I can be here; and if you are of that mind, I desire you will command me to come to you, or else it may be some of my associates will not like my going, though one of them hath already told me it is absolutely necessary. When I know your pleasure, I will endeavour to be with you in a few days, with leave or without. Your friends have desired Monsieur Zulestien to stay here till you send an answer to the letter; and, to avoid giving suspicion, he is advised to go into the country for some days. This letter being writ in my own hand, I hope you will burn it as soon as you have read it; and, the other being so too, I desire you will have it copied, or else I may suffer for it seven years hence.

You will wonder, I believe, not to see the No. 23 (Nottingham) among the other figures. He was gone very far, but now his heart fails him, and he will go no farther; he saith 'tis scruples of conscience, but we all conclude 'tis another passion. Every body else is as well as one can wish; and I pray God they may live to do you the service so much desired by all honest men.

THE COUNTESS OF SUNDERLAND TO MR. SIDNEY.

Windsor, September iii., 88.

Though I go to London as soon as I have dined, fearing I may not have time this post to write to you, and being full of hopes that I shall not write to you much oftener, because I expect your return, I will say now all I can think you care to know that I do. I wrote to you last post that my Lord Spencer was given over; we all thought that the last post would have brought the news of his being dead, but it still confirmed his being past recovery and speechless, and that he could not live while night. I must own I think it better for our unfortunate family, and yet I cannot but have very melancholy reflections on his past life, and dying in the false religion,[1] that intends nothing but the betraying and ruining souls, sending them out of this world with a vain presumption on the merits of a Saviour they have renounced, whilst they were capable of doing him and his holy religion honour. I am afraid, my dear friend, my often touching on

[1] With regard to his declaring himself a Roman Catholic, Barillon remarks: "Cele est regardée comme une chose concerté entre mi Lord Sunderland et lui. Ce qu'il y a de certain est qu'il profitera de la conversion de son fils."—Lingard, Evelyn.

these matters will make you either weary of my letters, or think them impertinent, but I am never able to forbear making you the repositor of all my heart feels, be it good or bad. I must likewise greatly complain that I have had but one poor letter since you went out of England, and that was dated the 21st of August. I pray God send you health, and, as soon as that will allow, a quick return to your own home, with all the comfort, safety, and happiness, I daily and heartily pray may attend you.

I have much to say of some of my affairs, but 'tis so tedious writing in cipher, and yet so uncomfortable having one's own concerns exposed to the view of others, that I will say a few words to you in cipher, because I believe all letters are opened; if they be, they will not think they have bestowed their time very much to the purpose. To begin: [1] *We talk more than ever of war, and of the Prince of Orange invading, as you know* as well as I *what to think of it, and no doubt* have *seen the French Ambassador at the Hague memorial, which the King, we say, is very angry at, and has upon it re-*

[1] The passages in Italics in this and in all other letters are in cipher.

called Skelton, who *promoted it;* but I must needs tell you one thing amongst all the rest that has befallen me in all this matter, *they do now with great art give out that the Prince of Orange gives in to the book lately published in Holland of the King's having forfeited his right to the crown, and that he sets up in his own right.* I assure you this is *set out with great dexterity, and ought to be taken care of.* Believe me I am not partial in my own concerns, for 'tis of consequence, wherefore, you that love and wish me well, make haste to take care of me in this matter; *a little while will show us a great deal at home; at Court they are sure of the Parliament*, but England is as sure, and *with as good reason, for 'tis all as one man.*

For news, I know so little, that you must not expect any from me. The talk that there is of war abroad, and all that matter, is so public, that if I would engage in writing, it would be rather troublesome than diverting. The news from home I am as ignorant of as if I were at Japan, but of what is public, I hear my Lord say, they are sure the Parliament will do what the King will have them, and that the King will make such offers that the Church of England must accept it, and that my Lord Churchill and my Lord Dartmouth them-

selves, which, by the way, I never heard before were either of them pillars of the church or had credit, but so it is, he says, are satisfied, and have assured the King that they will do all they can. A little time will show. Mr. Duncombe, too, and Mr. Penn assure us that all will go as the King would have it, and they are the knowing men in our world. Having told you their sentiments, I need add no more but to wish you a good journey.

THE COUNTESS OF SUNDERLAND TO MR. SIDNEY.

Whitehall, September 11th.

The news of the Marquis D'Albeville's letters brought last night has so struck me, that I scarce know what to say; 'tis a mortifying thing to hear one's only friend is so dangerously hurt, and at such a distance when any sad circumstance will not allow me to come to him. I beseech Almighty God to send me some good news from you.

As for the alarms you give us here, the first effect it has had, is that it has brought us from Windsor, and the next natural effect is for the King to put himself in as good order to receive you all, if you come, as he can. I hear the King said, when he heard you were with the Prince, that you had not kept your word with him, but that, being now over,

you must do as well for yourself as you can. I am assured that this man will safely deliver my letter, and that ought to encourage me to say a great deal of what my heart is full of, but till I hear from you I shall not say much. I beg I may be so happy as to hear by every post how you do in your health. I send you a bundle of herbs, which the Comte D'Evay says is the extraordinaryest thing in the world upon such a hurt as I hear yours is, a blow upon the stomach.[1] ... ...

... ...

I should be glad to know if you have had my long letter; 'tis possible, if you care to hear from me, that I might now and then say what others won't, at least sincerely, to be sure, for you know I love and wish you well, *as I do the Prince; if his design be against England, God send he be not foiled, for think what terrible ruin it must bring on England and the Protestants if the people fail.* You'll say I am very silly and have very little to do to trouble you with all these notions of my simple brain; the moment I hear you are pretty well, and when I may send to you, I will; 'tis certain you must now think no more of this place without

[1] Lady Sunderland here describes the "modus operandi" of these herbs in terms much too plain for modern ears.

success. I am sure you have *had too long experience of my friendship to know what that thought* alone inclines me to wish, *and* the *Prince*, though I say it, and you know it, may *be sure he hath not a faithfuller servant in England than I.*

It would be the kindest thing, and the only request I am likely to make you at present, if you would but freely write me word, and with all the speed you can, *what place you'd advise my Lord to go to*, you are too good-natured to want compassion *to us;* and had I not been left in hopes of your return from Aix, I could, when it would have appeared a more sincere and voluntary, and consequently a more comfortable resolution, have told you things you would have been glad to know of, one I am confident you cannot but love and forgive, as I do, when I assure you it has been ever since you went, just as 'twas in my closet at my Lady Peterborough's lodgings so many years ago; but all that is too late for anything but your forgiveness and mine, and I don't doubt of yours no more than I can deny my own; pray let me hear of this matter; oh how happy should I be if we might be *allowed the comfort of ending our days at Althorpe*, but that were too much, in any corner of the world, for I am sure he is what you wish.

By this strange letter, my dear friend, you see the sense I have of my present circumstances, and yet I do profess I *wish* the Prince of Orange as good success as you do; and, as for yourself, I cannot express the anxieties I am in for you. When my Lord first heard of your hurt, he wept bitterly, and I have not seen him so grieved. I hope you had my other letter, for what I said in that is worth thinking on, and I fear may be of ill consequences if not well thought on. I have made bold to give Mr. Watson some directions about your things. I wish I knew that you had settled your affairs, whatever should happen; but I run on, neither considering whether this will find you or not, but I beg you'll let me know if possible when I may write you a great deal of my mind, and if it could be settled a correspondence. I believe I may be of use to you, which, whilst I live, I should be overjoyed to be. I must needs tell you that my Lord Halifax does now want my Lord Bellasis above all things; he is a sad creature. The first east wind you are expected.

The herbs for the Comte D'Evay's medicine comes by this bearer in a little box; this is the way to make it, inclosed.

LADY SUNDERLAND TO MR. EVELYN.[1]

Friday, Oct. 11.

I hope this bearer will bring me the news I wish, that your wife and family are all well. The wind being west, you can expect no news, and I truly think that is the strongest thing we can rely on, being infatuated as to doing any thing that is reasonable; but God governs the world, and will certainly do what is best for those that serve him; this is a comfortable thought, and they that have it, have enough to carry them through all the troubles of this life with comfort. This I am so fully persuaded that I am amazed I can ever be dejected at the misfortunes that threaten us, and my unfortunate friend in particular; and yet, such is my frailty, I am sadly oppressed sometimes. Pray for me, and believe me your affectionate friend,

A. S.

Forget not my Lord in your prayers, for his conversion, which if I could see, I would with comfort live in any part of the world on very little.

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[1] The original letter is in Mr. Upcott's collection.

LADY SUNDERLAND TO MR. EVELYN.[1]

Wednesday.

However it may seem, I hope my good friend knows me too well to think me capable of forgetting one I have professed friendship to as I have to you, and to whom I am so many ways obliged; but the truth is, the hurry and general disorder, and my own particular woes, have not given me a moment's time to write, nor could I now to any body but yourself. For the invasion so long talked of, we know no more of it, than that the last letters said that this was the day that they would be ready to sail if the wind were fair; to sail with Dutch, Swedes, Saxons, Duke of Zells, altogether 18,000 strong.

It has had one effect, the King having restored the charter to the city, and he declares he will do to Magdalen College whatever they wish.

God direct us all for the best, and grant that we may not defer our repentance till 'tis too late, as I fear his Majesty's good deeds are.

If you would come for a night, I would tell you particulars one cannot write for a thousand reasons. All my flowers are set, but in a day or two I shall send you some.

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[1] In Mr. Upcott's collection.

DR. BURNET TO THE PRINCE OF ORANGE.[1]

The Clergy of London that deserve more particular regard from your Highness are: *Dr. Tillotson*, the most moderate and prudent clergyman of

[1] This paper may have been drawn up on the eve of King William's arrival in London; probably whilst he and Burnet remained at Exeter, as the King stayed there ten days. It exhibits the sound estimate which Burnet had formed of the character and talents of his clerical brethren; for it cannot be denied that almost every individual here pointed out for preferment justified his recommendation. We must remember how low was the Theological standard in this age, and that, if the politics of the Candidate were acceptable at Court, moderate talents were a passport to preferment. As the King appears to have attended to his recommendation, in almost every instance we have a proof of the deference which was paid by him to Burnet's opinion.

Four of these individuals became Archbishops, viz. Tillotson, Tenison, Sharp, and Wake. The three first were created Archbishops by William. Wake having been nominated by him to the see of Lincoln, in 1705, was made Archbishop of Canterbury by Queen Anne, in 1715. In the case of Tillotson and Sharp, they attained their highest honours, without being previously made Bishops. The former it would seem had been marked for the Primacy from the first; for, when he kissed hands for the Deanery of St. Paul's, "the King (as the Archbishop tells us) spoke plainly about a great place which I dread to think of, and said it was necessary for his

England, and, with submission, the fittest man of England to be Archbishop of York. *Dr. Patrick*, Dean of Peterborrow, a great preacher, and a man of an eminently shining life, who will be a great

service, and he must charge it upon my conscience."—Birch's *Life*, 205.

Three other clergymen here named were made Bishops—Patrick, of Chichester (1689); Stillingfleet, of Worcester (1689); and Fowler, of Gloucester (1691). Burnet himself obtained the see of Salisbury as early as 1689. From Bishop Patrick's autobiography, lately published, we have proof that that this excellent Divine gave himself to the work of the Ministry, "from first to last, with zeal and courage." Wharton, in his Manuscript History, tells us that he was "a person of great learning, of reputation for goodness and wisdom, *before* he was made Bishop; but that after that he lost his reputation through imprudent management, openly favouring the Dissenters, &c. &c. Whereupon he lost the love of the gentry, and desired a translation; and he was confirmed Bishop of Ely (1691)." Wharton, from his own strong opinions, and from his connexion with Archbishop Sancroft, would not regard with much indulgence any Divine that conformed. [Kennet's MSS. i. 56.] Sherlock did not acquire any higher dignity than the Deanery of St. Paul's, which he obtained in 1691, as Tillotson's successor. Was *he doubted* (having refused for a while to take the Oaths of Allegiance to the new government), or did his "sourness against the Dissenters" (alluded to by Burnet) outweigh his zeal, and the force of his arguments against Popery? James II., in a letter to the Earl of Clarendon, says, "I made your brother give

ornament to the Episcopal order. *Dr. Tennison*, Minister of St. Martin's. He is a rare man, and despises wealth, and has done more against Popery than any man whatever. *Dr. Stillingfleet*, Dean

Dr. Sherlock a severe reprimand, and have stopped a pension he had; and pray do you take care to hinder those where you are to continue to do the like." February 18, 1685-6. The offence was the inveighing very strongly against Popery.

Horneck was an excellent man and an exemplary Parish Priest, but we are told that "some prejudices had been raised against him," and he only obtained a Stall at Westminster. Was he considered, from the strictness of his habits, as bordering too much on Asceticism? and had he thus exposed himself to a suspicion of Romanism? Lord Clarendon, writing to the Earl of Rochester (Dublin, 23d, 1685), says, "I confess I would be very glad to have Dr. H. (as Bishop of Elphin). I know his piety and course of life would do good in this country; and therefore I could wish that, before I recommend, you could contrive it that he might be nominated from thence." This suggestion was not attended by any good result; but Lord Clarendon, on his return to England, appears to have kept up a frequent intercourse with this good man. In the dedication to the Bishop of Lincoln (Barlow) of his popular work, "The happy Ascetic," "He speaks of a many Prelates bent upon reviving the strictness of the Primitive Church," and that the object of his work was "to reduce Christianity in men to its primitive rule." This might have been written in a somewhat higher tone than the Court and some of the influential Divines of that period approved. Fowler, on the other hand, who is called "the pious and *rational*," may, from his education among the Dissenters, and the tone of his writings, be classed

of St. Paul's. He is the learnedest man of the age, in all respects, and a man of great prudence and moderation. *Dr. Sharp*, Dean of Norwich. One of the best preachers in England, and a very

with the latitudinarian Divines of his day: he had been ejected for Non-conformity.

Finch, Warden of All Souls, had originally strongly advocated doctrines opposed to the Revolution; but Burnet tells us that he was sent from Oxford to Exeter, assuring the Prince that the University would declare for him, and that their plate should be at his service, if he needed it. Was he afterwards Dean of York, dying in 1728?

Dr. Ayrshott is called, in an early edition of Collins's Peerage, Dr. Hesket; and, in the last edition, Dr. Ascard. I find no other allusion to him, nor any work published by him; he probably owed his preferment to his alliance with the House of Fane.

Of the three Prelates who were to be disgraced, Crew, Bishop of Durham, ought now to be remembered only for his good deeds; his appointment to that see was gained by disgraceful means; but Bamborough Castle and other valuable institutions will remain as monuments of his well-directed munificence. His proposal to resign the see to Burnet, on being allowed, out of the revenues, £1000 per annum, is well known. He held the bishopric from 1674 to 1721. The Bishop of St. David's was Thomas Watson, who was suspended for simony, and was afterwards deprived, viz. in 1699.

Timothy Hall, "vir nullius inter literatos vel clericos nominis,"* appears to have held the see of Oxford only a few

* Godwin de Præsul. Angliæ, [ed. 1743,] p. 549.

moderate man. *Dr. Sherlock*, Master of the Temple. He is the best and politest writer we have, but he has been very sour against the Dissenters, yet no man has writ with more strength against the Papists. *Dr. Ayrshott*, Dean of Windsor. He is a worthy man, and was one of the first that began to appear against Popery. He married the Earl of Westmoreland's sister. *Mr. Wake*, of Gray's Inn. He is the wonderfullest young man in the world, and the most popular Divine now in England, and it is an amazing thing to see with what force he has writ against Popery. *Dr. Fowler*. A very moderate man, that has been much

months. He was numbered amongst the seven London clergymen who obtained unenviable notoriety by reading the King's Declaration on the 20th of May, 1688. His successor was Dr. Hough, the President of Magdalen. Let us hope that Burnet, when he alludes to proceedings against three Prelates, did not wish that the Prince of Orange should adopt a course, which might be deemed almost as arbitrary as that adopted by his royal predecessor towards other bishops.

A notice of early Prayers at this time demands attention: perhaps Burnet had some grounds for supposing that they would be neglected by William. In his summary of the King's character, he praises him for his devoutness in public exercises; "only, on week days," he adds, "he came too seldom to them."—Burnet's *Hist.* iv. 550.

prosecuted by the Papists. He was the main instrument in engaging the Clergy to refuse to read the Declaration. *Dr. Horneck*, a high German of the Palatinate. A very good and pious preacher, and a very popular man.

His Highness may consider if it may not be fit for him to refuse to see either the Bishops of Durham, or of St. David's, and Oxford; for they, deserving to be proceeded against, it may be a previous part of their punishment to receive such a mortification.

And, because a great many ill men have been put in the Church by the King, it may be considered if it is not surely fit to turn out all that have been put in by him, and then to restore such to their places whose behaviour may have deserved it.

The whole number of the King's Chaplains, which consists of good men for the most part, ought also surely to be dissolved, and a new set to be formed with more choice, for the rule was formerly to take all Bishops out of that body. It may be fit for his Highness to have Chaplains, that every one may wait his week. I presume to name three — Mr. Finch, Warden of All Souls;

Dr. Birch, and Mr. Wake; but in this the Bishop of London is the best judge.

I humbly propose that, when the Lord Mayor and the Aldermen of London come to wait on the Prince, he may recommend to them the suppressing of vice and the excesses of drinking; and that he may tell them, that all people ought to express their thankfulness to God for this deliverance, in other instances than in drinking healths upon it. The first Proclamation that the late King set out, upon his restoration, was for the suppression of drunkenness and vice, which had a mighty effect on people's minds for a while, and made him looked upon as sent of God. This, expressed now, and pursued vigorously, will have a very good effect on people's minds.

The vices of the English forces have been so crying, that it is proposed that the Prince order his discipline to be strictly observed by them; otherwise, they will much disgust the nation, and their ill example may be a mean to corrupt the Dutch.

The Prince is to consider whether, upon his coming to Whitehall, he will have a *Te Deum* sung in the Chapel or not; and whether, in case

he lodges at St. James's, he will not go to Whitehall Chapel, for there is no quire or musick at St. James. It is also humbly offered to the Prince, that it will appear very strange if he does not come, at least in the morning, frequently to prayers in the lobby.

MEMORANDUM CONCERNING THE KING.

BY DR. BURNET.

The way of proceeding with relation to the King must either be by a total suspension, he being declared incapable to govern, the administration being put into the Prince's hands, so that he shall be declared Prince Regent with the Sovereign power, according to the case of Portugal, or by a total deprivation and a transferring of the regal dignity to another.

REASONS FOR SUSPENSION.

It is the milder censure, and shows less ambition and more respect, if those that are to govern do not pretend to the title of the King.

The revenue, which is granted to the King for life, will fall to the Prince Regent without any

new grant in Parliament; and though it is not probable that the Parliament would refuse to grant this to the Prince for life, if they declare him King, yet still they may do it, for many have got this in their heads, that the surest way to maintain the laws is to grant the revenue from three years to three years, since that will make triennial Parliaments necessary.

REASONS AGAINST SUSPENSION.

The making use of the King's name in the writs, seal, and coin, may make some impression on people's minds at some time hereafter, when the present disorders are forgot.

Our lawyers have always lodged the prerogative so immediately in the King's person, that his being still King will bring nullity upon the thing that is done without him.

REASONS FOR A DEPOSITION.

This has been practised in a Parliament which has never been condemned.

This totally cuts off all expectations or fears with relation to the aftergame that the King may have at any time hereafter.

This settles the Government upon its true basis of King, Lords, and Commons; and, although some illegalities which the present extremities force upon you can never be cured by a Prince Regent, a King, by the great law of Henry VII., can, in a subsequent Parliament, purge all the defects of this which now be called.

REASONS AGAINST A DEPOSITION.

It may seem to subject the Crown too much to the people.

After the deposition, the Government is in the hands of the two Houses, who may both lessen the revenue and the prerogative, and think they may give the crown to the next heir with what limitations they may think fit to lay upon it.

Many of the high clergy and of the laymen of that sort will be against it.

If the King goes away, the question will be whether he is to be cited upon certain days to answer, or whether the Houses are to proceed upon the evidences they find, without calling him to answer for himself.

The softest way would be for the Parliament to propose his living in Italy, and meddling no more

in any of the affairs of the kingdom, which, if complied with, they may leave it to the Prince to give him an allowance suitable to his rank. Upon that he may allow him his estate as Duke of York, the Parliament declaring that, either if he comes out of Italy, or enters into any negociations against the interest of these kingdoms, they will enact the cutting off of his appointments, so that they shall be given by the Prince's favour, but taken away, if need be, by act of Parliament.

THE COUNTESS OF SUNDERLAND TO MR. SIDNEY.

February 15th, 1688-89.

I dare say you'll have charity enough to excuse my perpetually troubling you; my condition claims that of my friends that are less zealous than I am sure you are. I have writ to you by Flanders, which I hope in God will bring you the news of our misfortune, at least as soon as you hear it in any other way. We suffer now by the way we had no apprehensions of, you having assured me they neither could nor would meddle with anybody. I find it every hour more and more confirmed; and this very morning, which is in part

the occasion of my writing to you, three of the Burgomasters have sent to me to meet them, and to desire me to petition the States; it being against all the rules and orders made never to deliver up anybody again, and though 'tis not upon our account, as you may easily imagine, they think this may be so ill a precedent to their town that I am sure they are ready to be as violent against the Sheriff as they were in the business of Sir Robert Payton, if they had the least encouragement from me.

When I writ first I was so amazed that I scarce knew what I did; now, though my sorrows are not diminished, I am better informed, and therefore think it proper to write to you every post all that I know, being sure of your concern, and that you'll turn it all to our advantage, though the disposition of the Burgomasters and people here are so as I tell you, and the Bailiff is so sensible of it that he is perpetually admonishing me to do nothing. This does not at all incline me to stir, for since I have been at the Hague, and have no more reason to doubt that it was Admiral Herbert who has workt this man to do it with abundance of promises and assurances that the Prince would think it the

greatest and most acceptable service to him. This the Bailiff confessed himself, when he was afraid, to me, and yet I have better demonstration of it, all which has made my Lord and me resolve not to do anything, but to be still, and expect the Prince's pleasure without very much anxiety, because I can never believe so just and merciful a Prince will suffer a law to be broken to oppress us; but, if we are so unfortunate, we had much rather resign ourselves to him, than if we could be free without its being agreeable to him, though, after all that I have said, his power is absolute here, that a noise, and disturbance, and mischief might happen, and we never the better, it may be; but, sincerely, if we could succeed by doing anything the Prince did not like, we had much rather submit to the worst of fortune. This is exactly true, and shall be inviolably maintained.

I hope you'll lose no time and send back both of our messengers, of which one is your own servant, who is the honestest creature that ever lived. I made bold to write to the Prince by Flanders, which I hope he will pardon, and that you'll let him know all you think necessary of this. I think none of it is improper for him to know, for the

freedom of this country is looked upon as inviolable, though our enemies in England should demand so inhuman and unjust a thing, which they themselves cried out at in the King's proceeding. There is so much to be said, and the Prince is so absolute here, besides the inclination of the people to retain their liberty in that point, that certainly a miserable man that had not the benefit of being Mr. Sidney's nephew and friend, might hope to find favour from a Prince that all the world allows to be just and merciful. Adieu, my dear friend.

Pray, if you think fit, to communicate what I write to Sir W. Temple, that he may help, if need be. I cannot omit telling you one thing, that the Amsterdam Gazette has writ my Lord was taken in woman's clothes. 'Tis so false that he never was seen but in his own.

If the Prince is quick in his resolution, the thing may be despatched, and then he will receive no importunity from our enemies, whosoever they are. Methinks they should be cautious at the present not to infringe upon the laws of nations and of humanity, for nobody knows what may befall them in this world—witness my present condition—and

refuge may be refused to one that has been to another.

THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND TO MR. SIDNEY.

Amsterdam, March 4th, 1688-89.

I am just come to this place, where I intend to stay but a few days only, to prepare myself for a journey which I intend to make out of these provinces. I will continue here till I have an answer from you to this letter; it is grievous not to hear out of England. I have not yet had one answer to any of my letters, or my wife's, though we have writ many and sent several expresses. I beg of you to have the charity to write sometimes, though but three words. If I had heard from you, and by it could have hoped that the King would have read a letter of mine, I would have given his Majesty thanks myself for his justice; and I hope favour in freeing me from the constraint which was put upon me at Rotterdam, and have assured him that if I had been in England, I would have given my vote for his governing as heartily and as joyfully as any man there; and I will yet write to him, if I am not discouraged, wheresoever I am. The least command of his shall be exactly obeyed by me, and you shall

always know where I am. This I have said to those I have seen here, but I know not whether they have had the justice to let his Majesty know it. By the next post you shall hear from me again particularly. Pray, let my Lord Godolphin and the rest of our friends know where we are and how our letters must be directed under a cover, as in the enclosed paper.

THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND TO KING WILLIAM.[1]

Amsterdam, March 8th, 1689.

If I had not followed the advice of my friends, rather than my own sense, I should not have been out of England at this time; for I thought I had served the public so importantly in contributing what lay in me towards the advancing of your glorious undertaking, that the having been in an odious ministry ought not to have obliged me to be absent, but nothing makes me repine so much at it as that I could not give my vote for placing your Majesty on the throne, as I would have done with as much joy and zeal as any man alive, and do now most heartily wish you all the greatness and pro-

[1] Published by Dalrymple.

sperity you deserve, which is to wish you more than any man ever had.

I must now beg leave to offer your Majesty my most humble acknowledgments for your justice and grace in ordering me to be set at liberty. I came into this country because I desired to be entirely in your power, and will continue in it till you forbid me, which I hope in charity your Majesty will never do. I should be sure you never would, if my condition were worthy of your consideration. Wherever I am in the world, your commands, as they ought, shall be most exactly obeyed by

S.

LADY SUNDERLAND TO MR. EVELYN.[1]

Amsterdam, March 1689.

Under all the misfortunes I have gone through of late, I cannot but be sensible of the not having heard a word from you; indeed, I have sometimes need of your letters, as well for to help me as to please me; and indeed, my good friend, they do both; therefore pray make amends. I am sure you have heard of the unusual proceeding my Lord met with in this country, but by the King's grace and

[1] In Mr. Upcott's collection.

justice he is released. I send you here a paper,[1] which was writ by your advice and another good friend's. If it be not what you like, I hope its sincerity will make amends, for indeed it is exactly true—every tittle, I dare to say.

I thank God my Lord is come to a most comfortable frame of mind, and to a serious consideration of his past life, which is so great a comfort to me, that I must call upon my good friend to thank God for it, and to pray that I may be truly thankful.

As to what relates to this world, we desire nothing but to live quietly in Holland till it shall please God we may end our days at Althorpe. That were a great blessing to us, but 'twill not be thought of so inestimable a price by others as we esteem it, and therefore I hope in God 'twill not be envied us. I am sure nothing else in our fortune deserves envy; and yet, having reduced my Lord to the thoughts he has, it is for ever to be acknowledged by me to Almighty God as the greatest of mercies. Pray for me, and love me, and let me

[1] The paper alluded to is the letter of justification, written by Lord Sunderland to his friend Sidney, published in Cogan's Tracts and elsewhere. See Appendix C.

hear from you. God send us a happy meeting. Farewell!

Yours, A. S.

Pray remember to urge that desiring to live in Holland till we can be allowed at Althorpe is neither a sign of a Frenchman or a papist, and, thank God, my Lord is neither. He has no pretensions, and will have none; and therefore interest cannot make him say but that he never did any thing but suffer it, besides going to chapel, as hundreds did, who now value themselves for good Protestants. God knows, it was to my soul's grief, but more had been wrong, and, I dare say, he is heartily and most Christianly sorry for what he has done.

Nell will send you a box of rare things. Pray divide them into three parts every plant; keep one for yourself; the other direct for my Lady Temple, and the third for me. Send hers and mine to Eleanor's, at my House in Leicester fields.

THE COUNTESS OF SUNDERLAND TO KING WILLIAM.[1]

Amsterdam, March 11th.

The relief I had by your Majesty's justice and grace from the sharpest apprehensions that ever I

[1] Published by Dalrymple.

lay under may, I hope, be allowed a sufficient plea for the liberty I now take, to present you my most humble acknowledgments for that great charity of yours; I dare not impute it to any other motive; but, however unfortunate my present circumstances are, I have this to support me, that my thoughts as well as actions have been, are, and I dare say ever will be, what they ought to be to your Majesty; and not only upon the account of the duty I now owe to you, but long before your glorious undertaking. I can't but hope you remember how devoted I was to your service, which was founded upon so many great and estimable qualities in you, that I can never change my opinion, whatever my fortune may be in this world. And may I but hope for so much of your Majesty's favour as to live quietly in a country where you have so much power, till it shall please God to let me end my days at my own home, I shall ever be most truly and humbly thankful.

THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND TO MR. SIDNEY.

1-11 of March, 1688-89.

You will think that no post can go into England without giving you the trouble of letters from

unfortunate people. My concerns are now of that importance to me that I hope you will bear with it. I had not time to write to Sir William Temple as I ought to have done, but now I have at large, which makes me beg of you to send the enclosed letter to him as soon as you can. I have likewise writ to my Lord Halifax, who, I hope, will take some care of me. I believe he will.

I send you a letter to my Lord Arran, open, that you may see the advice I give him; I hope he will follow it; it is better late than never. I had ordered the paper you saw to be printed in England, but not knowing how soon it could be done, I got it printed here, and send you some inclosed, which I desire you will give, or cause to be given, as advantageously as you can; and pray give me leave to put you in mind of one thing which is most true, that, in the condition I am in, the countenance of my friends, and chiefly of such an one as you, is the ruin or saving of me, therefore, pray take care that a man in absente is not too much run down, neither in jest nor earnest. I need not desire you to seal up my Lord Arran's letter before you send it to him. I have ordered the inclosed paper to be printed in French, which

will make it harder for me to go any where from these provinces, but yet, when the King sends troops into Flanders, if he will allow me to be a volunteer, I will go with them; this will, perhaps, appear extravagant, but I should be extremely glad of it.

I desire you will engage Monsieur Bentinck to be favourable to me; that which makes me write to you about it is, that I know my Lord Mulgrave has made great court to him, and the absent are always to bear every thing. Pray forgive the frequent troubles I give you, and consider the necessity of it, and that I desire nothing but to be at home, and I should be happier to be so confined at Althorpe, that it shall be treason to stir out of it. I believe my wife will be quickly in England. I wish I could be so happy.

I desired you in my last to make my compliments to the Lord Shrewsbury. Pray do not forget it, and let me know if you receive these letters.

THE COUNTESS OF SUNDERLAND TO MR. SIDNEY.

Amsterdam, March 8th.

The winds blew so hard that the mails did not come in till Sunday, and consequently they did

not come hither till last night; 'twas the comfortablest night I have had since I left England, except Sunday was se'nnight, that my Lord was at liberty.

I have already said all that I could from a thankful heart to you on that subject. I think it my duty to write to both their Majesties, which I shall do next post; my head aches so much now I cannot. Our sudden voyage here, as it surprised people at Rotterdam, so you may think it a sudden change; and that you may know why, I think I must trouble you to tell you, that after my Lord was at liberty, he did not think to go any where but to Breda, till Monsieur Mievelt thought fit in the night, at twelve o'clock, to come into our chamber, which nearly frighted me out of my wits, for I concluded it was again to take my Lord, but 'twas in a strange manner to tell my Lord he advised him not to go to Breda, nor to stay in this country; he asked him if 'twere by the King's order he advised this, or the States, or his own; he protested 'twas his own, but 'twas done in such a manner that a less unhappy person than I would have thought something more was in it.

This made us resolve to come hither with the intent to stay here, till we had implored his Majesty's grace that we may be safe in these dominions; and 'tis so great a charity that I cannot doubt of it, for if my Lord is not allowed to be here, he can be no where else. Utrecht is the place in this territory I wish to be in, and if you will help us to be here, 'twill be the greatest charity next to helping us to live at Althorpe, which is all I should ever trouble my friends for in this world.

Farewell, my dear friend; in all my misfortunes, think kindly of me.

I have one favour to beg of you which will contribute much to my comfort here, that you will procure a yacht for to bring my Lady Clancarty to me, and a pass for her, her woman, and two men-servants, with some necessary goods that I want; and that you will be so kind as to let your gentlemen of the horse come with her as far as the Brill, and then I will send my servants to meet her. Pray give Mr. Patison orders when you have got the yacht. I will make you no excuses for this trouble, you have good-nature enough to forgive it. Since my Lord was here,

Monsieur Mievelt sent my Lord word that every thing was very well at the Hague, that he was sorry he left Rotterdam, and that he might be safe any where in this territory. I have reason to believe that all this last part proceeded from a mercenary account of his own, not proper to write, but the truth of it, I would rather live under the Mogul than to have my quarters beaten up at midnight by Monsieur Mievelt. I beg you will take a little care with the King that he does not do us any ill offices, to support a strange proceeding which all the town cried out on. Give your letter to Mr. Ratisbon for us.

If my Lady Russell sends you a letter from me, pray assist its being done what I ask; it concerns only my Lord, and you will see it can be of no prejudice to public or private; it may be there may be no need of troubling you.

THE COUNTESS OF SUNDERLAND TO MR. SIDNEY.

Amsterdam, March 11th.

I hope it will not be thought improper nor too bold my writing to the King, which I thought it my duty to do, and hope you will be so kind as to

give it with all the apologies necessary, and whatever you think fit to say from me upon his accession to the crown, where he may long prosper no one wishes more than unfortunate me.

Last post I writ to you to get me a yacht for my Lady Clancarty, with a pass for herself and woman, and two men-servants. I desire there be added one more woman-servant, and I likewise desired the favour of you to let your gentleman of the horse conduct her as far as the Brill; then my servants may meet her, and he may return in the yacht, with many thanks. I believe the goods I have sent for, which are not many, must be mentioned in the pass; they were in mine, I remember; if there be any direction necessary about a little plate I have sent for to be given, be so kind as to give it him. I hope you forgive me the frequent troubles I give you. It's possible I may return in the same yacht which brings my daughter; besides that, I shall be glad to leave her with her father, who will then be quite alone; there are some particular reasons relating to her that makes it fit her being here. I hope and am sure we shall not want your protection; the being owned by a man thought so much in favour as

you must be a great advantage to us, and can be no disadvantage to you, since all our ambition is bounded to being quietly in Holland for the present, and at Althorpe for the rest of our lives. If they do not believe us, let them confine us there; we shall acknowledge it as well as if we had crowns and sceptres given us: sure that can't be envied, and I am sure nothing else in our fortune can.

A. S.

I hope you will do me the favour to write to Monsieur Alvyn, to thank him for his civility to me; you are doubly obliged to do it, for it must be on your account; but I hope you will, because I desire it.

THE DUCHESS OF PORTSMOUTH TO MR. SIDNEY.[1]

De Paris ce 8 de Mar. 1689.

Ge sais toute les bonté avec lesquelle vous aves parlles de moy monsieur dont ge vous suys infinimant obliges. Vous saves combien toute ma vie ge esté dans vos interais et de vos amie de mon caute ge ne suys poingt changé et lonne peut

[1] The original spelling in this letter has been scrupulously retained.

prandre plus de part au tousse qui vous regarde que ge fais que mon apsence ne me nuysse donc nonplus auprais de vous, et veilles ance qui despenderas de vous de bonne foy protesger mais interais, vous saves quil sont sy ataches a ceux du duc de richemond que lonne les peut separer. ge ne doute poingt que le resouvenir que vous aves de qui illa, lhonneur destre fils ne vous porte daventage a nous continue vautre amities que ge soueste tres fort et pour l'un et pour lautre vous voulles bien que ge vous suplie de vouloyr avoyr un peux de bonté pour monsieur harnbie [Hornby] qui est selluy qui vous renderas ste lestre; il est toutafait dans mais interais et de mais amie. Se me feraist un gran plesir sy ge pouvois autems comter sur vous il est sur mon cher honcle que vous ne pouves jamais estre des amies de qui que se soyt qui soyt plus des vautre ny qui vous honore plus parfaitemant que

L DUCHESSE DE PORTSMOUTH.

A Monsieur Monsieur de Sydené.

THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND TO MR. SIDNEY.

Amsterdam, May 10th-20th.

I have ended a very unpleasant tour, and am come to be in these provinces, according to the

gracious permission of his Majesty, for which I have all the acknowledgments possible, and will for ever pay him the duty of a faithful and affectionate subject. I desire of you, by all our past and old acquaintance and intimacy, that you will take some care of me and my concerns, to which a little help may be very important. I cannot doubt of it, and therefore will say no more, but that I congratulate you upon all that has happened to you of good, and that I am entirely yours

S.

THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND TO MR. SIDNEY.

Amsterdam, May 20th-30th.

I cannot let Hanbury go away without putting you in mind of an old friend, though I flatter myself that you do think of me when it is necessary, which is now more than ever, but because some good friends of mine would persuade the world that I have further thoughts than only to be quiet; I desire that you will recollect a little what you have known of my truth and sincerity for above forty years. If, upon looking back so far, you can believe what I affirm, I do conjure you to believe that all the greatness this

world can give to any man should not make me again engage in it. This may appear extravagant for me to write thus seriously, because it is as impossible as any thing of that nature can be for me ever to be in business, though I and ten times more friends than I have would intend it: but, however that may be, when I desire your help, as I do now, to be quiet at Althorpe, and not to be starved, you may be assured that I have no further thoughts. I was resolved to say this to you, and if ever you find any thing in me contrary to what I now write, count me the unworthiest man alive, and consequently take your friendship from me, which you know I value as much as I do any thing.

I would not thus desire you to think with some care of me and affairs, which I do most earnestly, if I could believe it would be of prejudice to you any way, or if it were not, if I may say so, decent for you to remember such a relation and friend, besides the encouragement you lately gave me to be assured you would help me in all you could, which I am sure is a great deal, as I own to have already found. I know your sense and understanding will agree to this, therefore I will say no

more, for I am sure you will not be guided by any other thing than what you think fit. I must desire one particular kindness of you, that my Lord Pembroke may know the King's favour to me, in allowing me to be in these provinces; for it would be very odd he should not; I have been so cautious that I never told it to any man, though, by my being here, and by letters out of England, I found that the Bourgomaster and Monsieur Borel, who is chief officer, do not doubt it, by what they said to me — they have been with me, and very civil. If my Lord Pembroke should have begun his journey, pray let it be writ to him. I beg of you not to forget me, nor this very particular. If you can help Hanbury in any thing, I hope you will; he is very honest, as all Sir William Temple's family can tell.

I am most truly yours.

THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND TO MR. SIDNEY.

Amsterdam, May 24th.
June 3rd.

I have writ to you twice since I came hither, which is more than I ought to do to one who is so

much employed, but I hope you will excuse it. If I thought you would not, I should be yet more unhappy than I am; but, till you forbid me, I will believe that I shall not be forgot by you, but remembered with kindness. I will not repeat what I then writ, though I hear what I hope is not true, that the Packet Boats which went from here were taken by the French. I still sometimes will inclose my wife's letters in yours, which I beg you will send to her as soon as you receive. We have not much satisfaction besides that of hearing from one another. I am entirely yours, and do again thank you for my being here quietly, without which I should have been not only uneasy but destitute.

LADY SUNDERLAND TO MR. EVELYN.[1]

Utrecht, November 28.

Your letter, dear Mr. Evelyn, was as truly welcome to me as it ought to be, and I am as thankful and value your kindness extremely. I had not been thus long without returning you thanks, but for my remove to this place, a better air than Amsterdam, which is all that is proper to say of it now. We are, I thank God, in good health, and

[1] From Mr. Upcott's collection.

live a quiet and I hope an honest life. 'Tis too great a comfort I enjoy, through God's mercy, in seeing my Lord so convinced of his errors[1] that I were highly to blame if I did not beg your thankful remembrance to unworthy me, who have deserved nothing but stripes. Dear friend, remember me; pray for me, and love me.

I hope you will have no attack of the distemper you mention, though I fear you will, for the gravel seldom takes its leave with one alarm; but, however, whether it comes again or not, I beg you will take the remedy in this receipt. I have known it do wonders both to young and old. Let me hear from you as often as you can. Your good books

[1] Lord Sunderland was frequent in his attendance at the French Protestant Church at Utrecht. Calamy, in his Life of himself, mentions having often seen him there. His reconversion, upon which Lady Sunderland congratulates herself, it is to be feared was brought about by the same easy and simple process by which he had been before a convert to Popery. "The Earl of Sunderland," says Burnet, "made the step to Popery all of a sudden, without any previous instruction or conference. So that the change he made looked too like a man who, having no religion, took up one rather to serve a turn than that he was really changed from one religion to another."

help and comfort me. Ah, that I had more of them! God reward you for these.

I am yours,

A. S.

My Lord assures you of his affectionate service.

LADY SUNDERLAND TO MR. EVELYN.

June 29, 1689.

I am going on Monday to Althorpe, which is a journey I must make before I leave England, and I wish it were over, for 'twill make me have many a sad thought, and yet I think I ought to be filled with praises to Almighty God, that by this method he hath reduced my husband from the error of his ways, and indeed I think he is a true penitent; and, when melancholy thoughts lay hold of me, I fear 'tis a great fault, for the punishments are so little in comparison of our deserts, that wonder at his mercy ought to fill my heart, and leave no room for any sorrow, but for having sinned against so good and gracious a God. Indeed, when I think I may live and serve that God who has done so much for us with my poor Lord, in one and the same holy religion, it does transport me, and I

think there is nothing I could not go through to save it.

Pray for it, pray for him, for me, and believe me that I am

Most sincerely yours,

A. S.

On the 28th of April, 1691, Evelyn says, "I visited the Earl and Countess of Sunderland—now come to kiss the King's hand, after his return from Holland." This is a mystery!

SUPPLEMENTARY PAPERS.

SUPPLEMENTARY PAPERS.

A.

I am obliged to my friend, the Rev. Mr. Dodd, of Penshurst, for the following extract from a letter of a Mr. Sudbury to the Earl of Leicester, in which he gives an interesting account of Lady Leicester and Lady Sunderland, when the sad news of Lord Sunderland's death was communicated to them.

"My Lord,

"The sad newes, which by your Lordship's direction was first to be imparted to me, was, by some indiscretion of him that gave me notice of the footman's desire to speak with me, suspected by divers in the house before I could returne from him. I found my Lady Sunderland in soe great an apprehension that some ill accident had befallen some of her friends, that it was not possible for me to suppresse it from her soe long as till I had deli-

vered your Lordship's letters to my Lady. Her Ladyship was soe full of expectation, that at my returne from the footman she would not suffer me to goe to my Lady till I would tell her what it was that made a footman from your Lordship come after so unusual a manner, as to send for me and not come himself with his letters. I told her Ladyship that I had letters, but that I had not opened them, but I heard the footman say my Lord of Falkland was slaine. This would not satisfy her Ladyship, in soe much that after some discourse of the miseries of these times, and how much it concerned all who had friends engaged in these wars to be ever armed against the worst newes they can apprehend, I was forced to let her know that my Lord Sunderland was also hurt. This put her into a great passion of griefe, and soon after into some fits of the mother. Her griefe I perceived was the greater because she feared I had not told her all, which shee did not importune me toe, and I had noe way to divert her from it but by entertaining her with such discourse as was more proper for a divine than for a relator of newes.

"All this while my Lady was in her own

chamber, expecting my returne with the greatest passion that I ever saw in any body, and notwithstanding all I could say to her, through the extremity of her sorrow, shee fell into a swoone. But we soone recovered her out of that, and made her Ladyship understand how much she was concerned to put on all possible courage and resolution, and to goe and comfort my Lady Sunderland, whose griefe would be much increased to heare that her Ladyship was soe much afflicted, and who would receive noe consolations from any other that would have soe much power to pacify her as those which her Ladyship might afford her. This I urged and pressed upon her as much as I could, till shee had overcome her owne passion, and then I waited on her to my Lady Sunderland's chamber, where, falling on her neck, shee spake such comfortable words to her, and in soe affectionate a manner, as I am confident it was not possible for any divine or orator, with all their study and premeditation, to have been able in soe short a time to have charmed soe great a griefe so well. After this her Ladyship told her out of your Lordship's letter, how honourably and how piously her Lord had left this world, having often charged the enemy before that

fatal shott befell him, and then with how pious ejaculations he resigned his soule into the hands of God, with how great satisfaction of conscience he had entered upon this action, and how free from all self-respects.

"I shall not need to tell your Lordship that neither of their Ladyships tooke much rest that night. But this I can now affirme of them both, that it hath pleased God to give them patience, and I hope it will not be long before He send them comfort likewise."

THE EARL OF LEICESTER TO HIS DAUGHTER THE COUNTESS OF SUNDERLAND.

My deare Doll,

I know it is to no purpose to advise you not to greeve, that is not my intention, for such a loss as yours cannot be received indifferently by a nature so tender and so sensible as yours; but though your affection to him whom you loved so dearly, and your reason of valueing his merit (neither of which you could do too much) did expose you to the danger of that sorrow which now oppresseth you; yet, if you consult with that affection, and with that reason, I am persuaded you will see

reason to moderate that sorrow; for your affection to that worthy person may tell you, that even to it you cannot justify yourself if you lament his being raised to a degree of happiness, far beyond any that he did or could enjoy on earth, such as depends upon no uncertainties, nor can suffer any diminution; and wherein, though he knew your sufferings, he could not be greeved at your afflictions. And your reason will assure you that, besides the vanity of bemoning that which hath no remedy, you offend him whom you loved if you hurt that person whom he loved. Remember how apprehensive he was of your dangers, and how sorry for anything that troubled you. Imagine that he sees how you afflict and hurt yourself; you will then believe that he looks upon it without any perturbation, for that cannot be admitted by that blessed condition wherein he is, yet he may censure you, and think you forgetful of the friendship that was between you, if you pursue not his desires, in being careful of yourself, who was so dear unto him. But he sees you not; he knows not what you do; well, what then, would you do anything that would displease him if he knew it, because he is where he doth not know it? I am

sure that was never in your thoughts, for the rules of your actions were and must be, virtue and affection to your husband; not the consideration of his ignorance or knowledge of what you do. This is but an accident, nor do I think that his presence was at any time more than a circumstance not at all necessary to your absteining from those things that might displease him.

Assure yourself that all the sighes and tears that your hart and eyes can sacrifice unto your greefe, are not such testimonies of your affection as the taking care of those whom he loved—that is, of yourself, and of those pledges of your mutual friendship and affection which he hath left with you; and which, though you would abandon yourself, may justly chalenge of you the performance of their father's trust reposed in you, to be careful of them. For their sakes, therefore, asswage your greefe; they all have need of you, and one especially, whose life as yet doth absolutely depend on yours. I know you lived happily, and so as nobody but yourself could measure the contentment of it. I rejoyced at it, and did thank God for making me one of the means of procuring it for you. That now is past, and I will not flatter

you so much as to say I think you can ever be so happy in this life again; but this comfort you owe me, that I may see you bear this change and your misfortunes patiently. I shall be more pleased with that than with the other; but as much as I esteem vertue and wisdome in you more than any inconstant benefits that fortune could bestow upon you; it is likely that, as many others do, you will use examples to authorise the present passion which possesseth you, and you may say that our Saviour himself did wèepe for the death of one he loved: that is true; but we must not adventure too far after his example in that, no more than a child should run into a river because he saw a man wade through; for neither his sorrow nor any other passion could make him sin; but it is not so with us. He was pleased to take our infirmities, but he hath not imparted to us his power to limit or restrain them; for, if we let our passions loose, they will grow headstrong, and deprive us of the power which we must reserve to ourselves, that we may recover the government which our reason and religion ought to have above them.

I doubt not but your eyes are full of tears, and not the emptyer for those they shed. God com-

fort you, and let us join in prayer to him, that he will be pleased to give his grace to you, to your mother, and myself, that all of us may resign and submit ourselves entirely and chearfully to his pleasure. So nothing shall be able to make us unhappy in this life, nor to hinder us from being happy in that which is eternal. Which that you may enjoy at the end of your days, whose number I wish as great as of any mortal creature, and that through them all you may find such comforts as are best and most necessary for you, it is and shall ever be the constant prayer of

Your father that loves you dearly,

LEYCESTER.[1]

Oxford, 10th October, 1643.

B.

MR. FREEMAN'S MEMORIAL.

The great thing which has disturbed the peace of Europe, filled it with blood and slaughters, and shaken the dismembered Kingdoms and States whereof, has been the huge designe of the uni-

[1] Collins's Sidney State Papers, ii. 672.

versal Monarchy; a designe which (by a kind of fascination) has possessed the genius of the Spanish and French Monarchies, which therefore, in their turns, have been dangerous to all Europe. But the French have made nearer approaches to the throne of such extended Empire than the Spaniards. Let us then look upon the means and advantages the most Christian King has, to pursue so vast a designe, as if he would plow up the air. To the end our minds may be stirred up (if anything will stir them) to raise up those Banks, which (under that Providence, to which nothing is so high to be above it; nothing so low to be beneath it; nothing so large but is bounded; nor nothing so confused but is ordered by it;) will circumscribe such wild and boundless ambition within its own limits.

And for our encouragement, let us by the way hear the judgment of that excellent man, Sir Walter Raleigh, in the case of the Spanish Monarchy, which then was what France now is to the rest of Europe. His words are these: Since the fall of the Roman Empire (omitting that of the Germans, which had neither greatness nor continuance,) there hath been no State fearful in the

East but that of the Turk; nor in the West any Prince that hath spread his wings far over his nest but the Spaniards, who, since the time that Ferdinand expelled the Moores out of Granada, have made many attempts to make themselves masters of all Europe. And it is true that, by the treasures of both Indies, and by the many kingdoms which they possess in Europe, they are at this day the most powerful. But as the Turk is now counterpoised by the Persian, so, instead of so many millions as have been spent by the English, French, and Netherlands, in a defensive war, and in diversions against them, it is easie to demonstrate that, with the charge of two hundred thousand pounds, continued but for two years, or three at the most, they may not only become persuaded to live in peace, but all their swelling and overflowing streams may be brought back into their natural Channels and old Banks. But to go on.

France, then, is come to the greatest perfection in respect of domestic Empire it is capable of. For — 1. Whereas heretofore the body of that Kingdom was not entire, but subject to several great Barons, who were able not only to expostu-

late, but to contend with the King, they are all brought now to a dependence on the Crown, and become most obsequious to it. And besides, many of the richest and most potent of them are of the blood royal; so that, upon the failure of those that are before them, they, or their posteritie, may succeed to the Crown, which keeps them firm to it.

2. All those mighty members into which that Kingdom was formerly divided are now annexed to the Crown: so that for largeness of territory, and compacted and united strength, it is become the most formidable Kingdom of all Europe. And as by the former of these they have secured themselves against all intestine wars, which many times, through the interests or feuds of those Barons, shook the whole frame of that Kingdom; so, by the latter they have fenced themselves against all forreign invasion. For, heretofore, all the neighbouring Princes were ready upon every occasion to invade the Kingdom of France; and the Dukes of Burgundy, Brittanie, Guienne, or Flanders, being always tempting them thereunto, and giving them access, passage, and reception. By this means England made two conquests of France, and at other times forced them to buy peace of them, and

pay them tribute. But now, whosoever would invade that Kingdom shall not only want these for their confederates to invite and assist them, but shall have them for their enemies. Thus far Machiavel has observed for substance.

3. By abrogating the Convention of Estates, that king has spoyled the people of that power and share in government which they have originally had in all the mixt monarchies of Europe, and made himself absolute even in the point of raising money, which is the blood that fills the veins of that mighty body. By this means he has changed the constitution of that kingdom from mixed to absolute monarchy, for the kind of it; which is the form that enables a Prince to do the most mischief both at home and abroad.

4. But that which is the crown of this perfection, and may be the strongest stay of it, is the naval force now added to the other strengths of that powerful monarchy, wherein it now equals, if it be not an over-balance to, either England or Holland. For this is a maxim, that the power of a Prince whose dominions border on the sea cannot be perfect without a force in shipping able to command the sea. Wherefore, in my opinion (which never-

theless is exceeding weak), one of the greatest mischiefs this war has produced is, that it has given occasion to France to become mighty in naval power, and that mischief can never better be demonstrated than by this consideration; that there was never before any example upon earth of a triumvirate of mighty nations in a vicinity of neighbourhood one to another, and bordering upon the same seas, equally powerful in naval strength. The consequence of which must of necessitie, in time to come, be a perpetual emulation and jealousy, greater by how much either an union or division of three is more perfect than of any other number. Whereby it must necessarily come to pass, either that some two of the three shall alternately or by turns fight against the third; or that two of the three shall agree together to extinguish the power of the third, that themselves may remain without jealousy one of another. It is now long since France wanted but one of three things to help them to drive on that huge design of ambition for the universal monarchy, which has so long swelled their hearts. To bring Holland under a kind of feudal protection of that crown, by which means they might serve themselves of their ships and sea-

men ; or to make themselves masters of the Spanish Netherlands; or, lastly, to grow great in naval strength at home. For France has been dangerous enough to the rest of Europe, whilst they were in a manner without shipping; insomuch that these two things were observed of them in the time of Queen Elizabeth, that France could never abstain from war for above two or three years together; and that they could never be poor.

5. And lastly, to all these may be added, the new conquests and acquisitions of the French. But nevertheless it may be doubted, whether that monarchy has received any real accession of strength by these conquests, in case it should come to feel the shock of a powerful and vigorous enemy. It is true, indeed (what Machiavel has said), that the conquests of commonwealths that are ill-governed and contrary to the model of the Romans do more conduce to the ruin than advancement of their affairs. But when we shall a little penetrate (what he elsewhere says), that when we have observed the histories of former times, we shall find that commonwealths had but three ways of enlarging their empire. One is that which was observed by the Tuscans of old, who entered into

a league of confederacy with several other commonwealths, with condition of equality, that no particular should have any degree or authority above the rest, and that comprehension should be left for all their new conquests to come in, not unlike the practice of the Switzers and the Hollanders of late, and the Achaians and Æolians of old. Another way of extending your empire is by associating with several cities, but so as that the dignitie of the command, the seat of the empire, and the honor of the enterprise, may remain with you, which was the way observed by the Romans, and it was peculiar to them; no other people has observed it, and certainly no better is to be found. The third is the way of the Spartans and Athenians, who entertained no confederates, but whatever territories they conquered they annexed them to their own. Which way is undoubtedly the worst of the three; as appeared by the two said republics, who were ruined upon no other accompt, but because they had grasped more dominion than they were able to hold. I say, these things distinctly considered, and the last way being that which the French practise in their conquests, it makes the doubt yet greater.

From that of the State if we descend to the consideration of the person of the King, it gives us these two momentous observations.

1st. It shews us how necessary a thing it is for a prince that would either defend or enlarge his state, to excel in practical wisdom, which consists in application, conduct, and pursuit. For by that means he shall always be served of wise and excellent men. For it ever was and ever will be true, as the Prince himself is, so are his council and those that are about him; a weak prince will never endure wise men, nor can wise men ever be safe under an inadvertent prince. And it gives him mighty advantages over the princes and states that are about him, especially if their administration be slow, weak, and remiss. And it is commonly seen when a great man rises in the world, either that he is alone, or that the magnificence of his actions swallows up the weaker efforts of others, as the sea do the rivers. And secondly, that when a wise and martial prince rises, and is succeeded by one or two princes of equal condition to himself, without a pusillanimous interposed, they may do very great things in the world; since the succession of two such princes alone, Philip and Alexander, in the

kingdom of Macedon, was sufficient to conquer the world. I conclude, therefore, that if the present King of France should be succeeded by a prince of equal virtue to himself, they would swallow up the greatest part of Europe. But because the great things of a monarchy begin and end with one or a few princes, and it is rarely seen that three sufficient princes immediately succeed one another, without some effeminate or ill-consulted prince between; I am of opinion that monarchy will sink with its own weight.

Now having taken a view of the force and strength of this monarchy, and the sufficiency of her present king, let us next consider what their next attempts are likely to be. In general they will do these two things; what they begin by war they will pursue in peace. For they had no other designe in making peace than to disarm their enemies, break their confederation, and hinder England from coming into it, that they might insult over the world, by a peace more tyrannical than the war of a gallant enemy. And then, when the injured world can bear their insolence no longer, out of the elements of this peace they will raise up a new war. For that prince that would make great

conquests must make short wars and renew them often. Holland they will not attack, at least not this year; for two important reasons. Because Flanders lies between that and France; and, besides, they will go as softly as they can, till towards the end of the summer, for fear of awaking them out of that sleep their wasted spirits and trading humour have cast them into. And England their stomach do not serve them to meddle with. For though it be true that whosoever he be that shall attempt to set up an universal monarchy in Europe will, first or last, find England the strongest bar in the way; I say England, which is now not only the strongest, but now the only strong kingdom in Europe next to France. And, therefore, Philip II. of Spain, after all his vain attempts and pursuit, turned himself upon England, in which, though he miscarried, yet he maintained a long war in Ireland. Yet the French will think to serve themselves of the supine negligence of England, and still hope that they may have prorogations there for their money, till they have eaten up the rest of Europe as they eat bread. And, besides, they will find a better way to distress England, and a more effectual than by any point

blank attack which they can make upon it, as we shall see anon. Lastly, there is yet one very important reason, and that is, they are afraid of England; and truly, if God had not placed in man the irascible affection of fear, he would be much a wilder creature than he is.

But least the truth of this should be doubted, it will not be amiss to call a foreign witness, and that is Machiavel, whose own words are: the French are in great fear of the English, for the great inroads and devastations which they have made antiently in that kingdom, insomuch that among the common people the name of English is terrible to this day, but he adds there was not then the same reason for it. It is true there are not so strong reasons why they should fear us so much now as they did formerly, our advantages which we had over that kingdom being most of them lost, and that monarchy come to its full strength and the greatest perfection it is ever like to see. And yet there be very strong reasons why they should yet fear us, and if they do not apprehend them, it is nobody's fault but our own. And I say that both the Spanish and French monarchies inherit such a remembrance of the English, as the

Romans did of Hannibal. Nay, I think it may be truly affirmed that France is more afraid of the Parliament of England (that is the King and the Estates of Parliament, for they are all comprehended under the word Parliament) than of any one, if not of all the Princes and States of Europe.

But if France will do neither of these, what is it then they will do? I answer: We must not take our measures by those reports they cause to be given out up and down the world, to cast a mist before the eyes of their neighbour Princes and states, as juglers do; nor when they seem to look far abroad must we regard it, but consider by the exact rules of prudence what is fit for them to do, and what we ourselves would do were we in their case. I say then that the greatest and wisest thing which France can do next, is to make himself master of the residue of the Spanish Netherlands; and particularly to seize upon Ostend and Neuport. And when he has done that, to turn his whole force upon the empire, not omitting in the mean time to attempt all that he can do there, as well as to amuse and divert them, as to open his way to the complete conquest of that branch of the miserable House of Austria.

To demonstrate this, I know no better way than a little to consider and discourse upon the consequences of this with respect to England and Holland. For England: If the French be permitted to become masters of the Spanish Netherlands, and to possess Ostend and Neuport, then England will not only not have a footing on the main, but all the sea-coast opposite to the whole body of it will be in the hands of the French, always an enemy to England in interest and humour. And if he pleases to look over the sea, he may seize upon Ireland when he pleases, which will always be open to him, and where he will find papists enough to entertain and join with him. And let it be remembered that Ireland is already cut off from England by the Irish Act. And what would England then be but an island hemmed in by the sea, and their enemy its master, and shut out of the world? By this means they will be prevented from sending any succours to the rescue or relief of those provinces. And by this means also it must necessarily come to pass (which is worst of all) that England must lose both the dominion of the sea and their trade; and in time will not be able either to build or sail ships out of their own ports without

the licence of France; and so will be in a fair way to become a feudal province of France. And thus we see England may be distressed without directly warring upon it.

It is the greatest blemish in the reign of Henry VII. (celebrated in our histories for one of the wisest of all our Princes) that he suffered Brittany to be lost and annexed to the Crown of France; a foul spot in so beautiful a picture, as he is taken by the pencil of my Lord Bacon. And the more I think of these things, the more I am confirmed that we shall stir up the just indignation of those who are to come after us against our memories, and it will be the wonder of succeeding generations that so great a king as the King of England, in a war that had for its end an universal monarchy for the most christian king, and the subversion of the Protestant religion and interest. The one as foolish and impossible to be effected as the other is full of monstrous and detestable impiety towards God; and to which ends our enemies have been travelling through a sea of blood; and all those crooked ways, the first attempter against God, beat out to those that travel with pride, ambition, and impiety.

I say that such a king, in such a war, and such a peace as followed it, should not sit still and suffer himself to be (as it were) besieged in his own kingdoms, whilst he suffered France not only to grow to an over-balance to England in naval force, but to plant himself all along on the opposite shore of the main continent; and in the mean time to suffer the greatest part of Europe to be consumed with the flames of an unjust war, and be sacrificed to the ambition of France; an aggravation greater, by how much England has been famous for holding the balance of Europe and protecting the Protestant religion. Since, therefore, it is a "royal virtue in kings, not only to avoid flatterers as a pest, but to encourage somebody to tell them the truth roundly, still preserving the dignity of their persons, and the majesty of their state, I think a man cannot do better than to bring things home to them; for if princes would but reflect and look back upon the times past, where they might see the beauty that is upon the memory of good princes, and the deformity of that of the bad, they would see the excellency of plain dealing, and the odiousness of pernicious flattery.

For Holland. It will be enough to say, that if

they suffer the Spanish Netherlands to be lost, France will not only claim by a title prior to theirs all the conquests and dominions of this state in Flanders and Brabant; but may set up the title of the House of Burgundy to the old seventeen provinces. And finally that they will have a very bad neighbour. I conclude, therefore, that it is the interest of England and Holland, by all means, not only to preserve the rest of the Spanish Netherlands from falling into the hands of France, but to make him vomit up what he has already swallowed of them. For, besides what I have already said, if France once become master of these provinces, Holland and the rest of the provinces of the League will become an easy and cheap prey to him, which concerns England not a little in point of interest. And to keep those Netherlands in the hands of Spain is (I think) more the advantage of England and Holland than it is of Spain itself. For of Spain we are secure, because he is weak at that distance, and neither will nor can encroach upon his neighbours, and so we preserve the greatest bank security against the inundations of France.

To conclude this part. For the most Christian

King; we are no doubt to look upon him as the minister of God's indignation; howbeit, he meaneth not so, but has done all these things in pride and cruelty, and attributed their successes to his strength and wisdom. For the power both of Satan and wicked Kings is from God, but the will and malice is their own. Therefore the French King has made use of all these powers and advantages to do evil; evil, I say, than which the most merciless tyrants and destroyers of the earth (whom God has said he will destroy) have not in any, the most barbarous age of the world, committed greater or more crying to the righteous God for vengeance. And a Prince, afflicted with so vast and wild ambition, is to be looked upon as an enemy to mankind; as a proud attempter to destroy the bounds which God has set. And, therefore, if there be so excellent hope, that God will stop the way against our enemies if we return to him; if the preservation of the true religion; the liberties of our countries; the great interests of mankind; or whatsoever other excellent consideration we can propose to our minds will move us; let us behave ourselves like men, and do some great thing worthy our remembrance.

And this brings me to the second part of my discourse. In the first we have seen the mischiefs. Let us now consider of the remedies.

Now, because there is no separate Kingdom or State in Europe sufficient to balance the mighty body of the French Monarchy, nor any of their strengths in disjunction, competent to be opposed against so formidable force; therefore, there must be a new fond of power and interest raised up sufficient to keep the balance of Europe from being called back into a chaos, out of which the French may form an universal Monarchy according to the idea they have conceived thereof. And this can by no means better be done than by England and the United Provinces entering into a new League, for the mutual and reciprocal defence of themselves and their confederates that shall be admitted into such League; and for the preservation and defence of the Spanish Netherlands; and for restraining the further growth and increase of the French Monarchy, and hindering their encroachments upon the rest of Europe. The excellency of which League will appear by this, that the ends of it are, in a manner, common to all Europe. For though the preservation of the

Protestant religion be most the concernment of England and Holland; yet the special and immediate end of the preservation of Flanders and the general end of holding the balance of Europe is universal.

Upon the occasions of the beginnings of the war between the Latins and the Romans, Machiavel has delivered this rule: That in all consultations it is best to come immediately to the point in question, and bring things to a result without too tedious hesitation and suspense; and the reason of this is founded upon divers observations, which he gathers out of the Roman story. As that weak Commonwealths are generally irresolute and ill advised, as taking their measures more from necessities than election: That 'tis the property of weak States to do every thing amiss, and never to do well but in spite of their teeth; for there is no such thing as prudence amongst them. That weak and irresolute States do seldom take good counsels, unless they be forced, for their weakness suffers them not to deliberate where anything is doubtful; and if that doubt be not removed by a violent necessity, they never come to a resolution, but are always in suspense. And that it is a fault pecu-

liar to all weak and improvident Princes and Governments to be slow and tedious, as well as uncertain in their councils, which is as dangerous as the other, with diverse more of the like nature. Wherefore there may seem to be but one thing which may perplex us, and that is, whether this course may sort to the nature of the times and circumstances.

Touching this point, the same author gives this rule: That the occasion of every man's good or bad fortune consists in his correspondence and accommodation with the times. The wary course that Fabius took against Hannibal was good, because the times and condition of the Romans suited to it; but had the same course been holden on when Scipio undertook the war, Hannibal might have staid in Italy, but the times being changed they also altered the method of the war. And it is certainly true, that to every purpose there is a time and a judgement, therefore the misery of man is great upon him, because the time is hard to be discerned; for, if the time be missed, things cannot succeed. For man knoweth not his time. If a man chuses a wrong time, he may labour and travel, not only in vain as to the issues designed,

but may bring forth his own destruction: for the universal influence and concourse of the first Providence is wanting. But when we shall seriously consider that there is no other way left, that the French King will neither be quiet himself, nor let anybody else alone; and that we must either throw up the cudgels, and let him domineer as he pleases, or do something that may either deter him from attempting further, or if he does, may shew him there is as good iron in the world as any he has in France. I say, things being thus, I can see no objection of weight against the proposition. That State that will defend itself must be in a condition to offend its enemies; and so long as this State shall give occasion to France to apprehend that they are afraid of him, he will use them like dogs.

Therefore, since this is like to be a League of as great importance as has been made in the world a good while, to render the same secure to the parties; to add majesty and grandeur to it; to render it more sacred; and to give it weight and reputation in the world, it will be necessary that the same be approved, ratified, and confirmed, both by the Parliament of England, and the general

estates of the Seven Provinces, in an extraordinary Assembly. I confess the thing is both very extraordinary and magnificent, and will make the times famous. But the arguments that inforce the necessity thereof are irrefragible; the demonstration whereof I shall leave this whole discourse, and the dignity and weight of the matters, themselves to give evidence unto. And shall say no more in this place, than that there is nothing that Princes and States may more justly value themselves upon than faith and sincerity in their Leagues and Treaties, and Negotiations with other Princes and States. And insincerity or State hypocrisy less becomes the Majesty of State than it does private persons in moral or civil actions.

But, before we go any further, it will be but necessary to answer an objection that may be made on the part of England; and that is, that to confirm a League by Parliament will weaken the King's prerogative. To which I answer—1st. *Ad hominem;* that which has been done in the times of former Kings, and those the greatest and wisest of our Princes, and which did not lessen their prerogative, may be done again without weakening the prerogative of the present King. But this thing has been

often done in former Parliaments, as our rolls of Parliament records, law books, and histories shew. But I shall content myself to name two or three of the most principal as sufficient.

A League of Alliance was made between King Henry V., his heirs, and successors, and Sigismond, King of the Romans, his heirs and successors, Kings of the Romans, and was confirmed by act of Parliament. Coke Inst. pars. 4, 156; Rot. Parl. 4, N. 5, No. 14. That illustrious Peace, 9 H. V., made between Charles VI. of France and the said Henry V. of England (who was the very Alexander of the Kings of England for magnificence) by which the King of England had confirmed to him the Regency of the Kingdom of France during the life of Charles, and the succession of the Crown after his death, was ratified by the three Estates of France, and sworn to by the King of England in Parliament, and by the same Parliament ratified.

And 11 Henry VII., the same case happened again, the three Estates of the Kingdom joined with the King in the ratification of a peace with France in the same manner. This King was a Prince of great and sufficiency (as I said before);

he invaded France with a Royal Army, made them buy a peace of him, and pay tribute, which continued yet in the times of Henry VIII., his son; nevertheless he ratified a peace by the Parliament. So you see two Kings, one the greatest conqueror as the other was the greatest politician of the Kings of England, ratifying their Leagues (which, nevertheless, they purchased with their own swords,) by Parliaments; and so sacred were our Leagues and Truces held to be in those times, that 2 H. V., c. 6, It was enacted by Parliament, that the breaking of truces should be high treason in the subjects of England.

But, 2, I answer, *ad rem.* It is said, the King's prerogative is to make war or peace. If the King then make a League, and the Parliament confirm that League, it is so far from lessening that it confirms that authority.

That there must be a new League, and that it must have not only more but larger dimensions than the present League in being, is evident; because the House of Commons, in the late long Parliament, voted, that the League, offensive and defensive, between his Majesty and this State, is not according to their advices given to his Ma-

jesty, nor pursuant to the ends by them proposed, which vote has blasted the present League; and if you should call twenty Parliaments they would all be of the same opinion.

And because all human providence is short-sighted, there may be a provisional clause added—That where the ordinary provisions and remedies of this League shall fall short or disproportionate, the Parliament shall be called to deliberate of supplemental cómplements of provisions, that may be adequate to the force that shall attack the League, which will yet add both strength and reputation to it: but not to enter into common-place discourses, I will insist upon but one thing more in this place, and it is this: There is a rule which Machiavel has observed, that the best and most secure way to repress the insolence of an ambitious and powerful State is to preclude and stop up those ways by which he would come to his greatness; and that there is not a better or more secure way to suppress the insolence or cross-wise the designs of such, than to take the same ways to prevent, which he takes to advance them. Now then I think it would be of great advantage to this League, (as every body may

easily apprehend,) to put Ostend and Neuport into the hands of England; and if Spain will suffer themselves to hear reasons, and be persuaded to do it, I am without all doubt, a way may be found how they may do it with all security to themselves, of having the said places restored to them, so that their end may be obtained and their hazard prevented.

Having now spoken to that part of the Parliament's confirmation, I shall discourse, and that very briefly, the other part of the ratification by the general Estates here; and the more willingly because I think it may import this State in a double respect; and I have conceived it thus: the prescience, predetermination, and concourse of God, none denies, though all have not conceived of them in the same modus: but the Politian has said, that 'tis a certain truth, that the things of this world are determined, and a set time appointed for their duration; but those run through the whole course which is assigned them by their stars, who keep their body in such order that it may not alter at all, or if it does, it is for the better. And the way to preserve such bodies, (mixt bodies he speaks of, as common-wealths,) is

renovation; for no mixt bodies are of long duration, unless they be often renewed, and the way to renew them is to reduce them to their first principles, and they are reduced partly by external accident, and partly by internal prudence. Those alterations are therefore salutiferous, which reduce them towards their principles: but my design is not to enter into the common-place of renovation, therefore I go on. And since it is in the nature of all things to decline, and tend to depravation, it is the wisdom of Government to look back to their first constitutions, which are the very Formalis Ratio and fundamental laws of their Governments; therefore, let the general Estates of the Seven Provinces be summoned to meet in the great Zael in the Hage, for these two great ends: 1st. To renew their common League among themselves, which will have these two admirable effects: First, to cure their internal diseases, and especially that kind of politic paralysis of the two provinces of Groeningen and Friesland, which tends to mutilation. Secondly, to restore a kind of new life and vigour to their Government. No Government can live that has not extraordinary remedies to have recourse to in

extraordinary cases. Rome had its dictators which kept it in health; and England has its Parliaments, without which its Government could not stand: for this cause have our Parliaments so often renewed our Magna Charta, near forty times; and 2. to ratify this League with England: for, as the first defends them against internal diseases, so this against external force—the two diseases of which all Governments die. And this will also give reputation abroad to this State thus recreated and fenced. And if there be any other argument necessary to inforce the proposition, it may be drawn from the nature of the Government itself. There are in story and politicks but three divisions of commonwealths. First, they are either single, as Athens, Lacedemon, &c., or by Leagues, as the Achæans Ætolians, Swiss, and this State. Secondly, they are divided into such as are for preservation, as Lacedemon and Venice; or for increase, as Athens and Rome; or thirdly, as equal or unequal, in libration. This is a Government of a League, and for preservation only, and very unequal; which whosoever shall thoroughly penetrate, shall find cause to apprehend the weight of this proposition: for such another war would shake

this State in pieces, and there are but one of three ways for them—war, submission to France, or a league with England.

And if there were time, a man should not seem to want either matter or words, to set home the argument. They are now but newly delivered from the most dangerous crisis that ever their State passed under since their first formation; wherein they have laboured under, not only very dangerous domestic convulsions, but the powerful assaults of Foreign force. And, therefore, what physician that is not a mountebank would not prescribe some potent restorative in such case. I have now but two things to do to finish this second part of my discourse. The one is to set down some of the just praises of the English nation, to the end these people may be moved to rely on their friendship with greater confidence; and I would have done it elaborately, but that my discourse has already drawn itself out to so great a length. The other is the admirable effect that will be produced by opposing the English courage to the French fierceness. Let us then run them over.

The English have always been sincere in their Leagues, Alliances, and Treaties; I know pre-

sently what will be cast in our teeth, and that is the infamous breach of the triple League: but as he shall always be very far from making a true judgment, that shall determine upon one or a few single actions, so nothing can be more injurious than to impeach the faith of a gallant nation, for that which nobody have regretted more than themselves. The philosopher has said, that actions denominate not the subject to be such; and it is true in divinity, that a man is not to be judged by a few or any single actions, but by the course and tenor of his life. I say then, that the excellent virtue of faithfulness has been the general tenor of the English in all times. Let not so foul an indignity be therefore charged on them, but let the crime be at the doors of those few men who were the authors and councillors of it; and in the mean time I will comfort myself with this hope, that when the sanction of our Parliament shall come to be put upon this League, his Majesty and the whole nation with him will be restored to the good opinion of all whose interest it is not to believe lies.

And let me say this, that I have not found in story any nation to be preferred to them for the

above-mentioned excellent quality, wherein I may affirm that they have exceeded the Romans themselves. For the Romans, passionately affecting an universal sovereignty and dominion, were not seldom constrained shamefully to prevaricate, to make strained construction of their leagues, to violate their faith, and to pass over all whatsoever respects of honour, to travel to the ends of their ambition. Whereas the English never can have any interest to propagate their empire upon the body of Europe beyond these bounds, which God by nature (his instrument) has prescribed to them. The most they pretend to be is to be arbiters between the Princes and States of Europe, as we may see in the example of Henry VIII., who, living in an active time, when three such great spirited Princes met, as himself, Charles the Fifth, and Francis the First, of France, might have made his own markets; yet sought no more than to keep the balance equal between those two. England, then, in peace has been famous for the excellent virtue of loyalty and faithfulness: and in all times for keeping close to that righteous maxim of holding the balance of Europe steady; a maxim they took up about six hundred years ago. In war

they have been renowned for their courage, redoubted strength, and great achievements. In a word, in war they have been just, as well as valiant; in peace, kind; and in both, sincere. And for the profession of the true religion (without which all other things are as nothing, or as good as nothing) they have been celebrated above all the nations of Europe. It began there early, continued in the worst of times, and, since the Reformation, her Divines have been the most pious and learned of the Christian world, as all Foreign Divines themselves would be ready to testify. These methinks should be powerful encouragements to this State to join with England — England, with whom the public virtue of true meaning is inherent; from whom, both in peace and war, we may expect not only justice, but even generous goodness (to allude to the most antient distinction of the Jews), and who, above all other nations, are most zealous against Popery.

But that it may appear we do not lay our stress upon general and rhetorical discourses, there are other considerations of a more particular nature, which must not be passed over. England has been the principal instrument in saving this state twice

from destruction; once in the infancy of their commonwealth, in the time of Queen Elizabeth, against the Spaniards; and now again in the late war, from the French. Again, nothing can secure this State for the future, against the mischiefs impending from France, but the friendship of England. And that England, in conjunction with this State, is able to balance the French monarchy, I shall thus demonstrate. France is larger than England, but England will always afford more soldiers than France — I mean foot — and the strength of all armies consist in the infantry. The reasons of this are these two:—

1st. The Division of the People.

In France, and generally in all other countries, there are but two divisions of the People; the nobles and the peasants: but, in England, we have three. 1st. The Noblesse, that is, the Nobility and Gentry, competent to furnish a sufficient cavalry. 2. The Yeomanry, or middle sort of people, which make up the great body of the kingdom, and who are sufficient to furnish the greatest and strongest infantry of any kingdom or state in the Christian world. And, 3. The inferior sort, or servants; I mean such as work for day wages,

which are very inconsiderable in number to the yeomanry. The Division of the People is one of the principal foundations of empire. And the division of the People in England being the best, and most perfect of any other in all Europe, it must necessarily follow, that England is capable to endure stronger shocks than any other kingdom or state founded upon the same balance of government; and is the most perfect government of its kind in Europe.

2. In England the People, that is, the inferior gentry and the yeomanry, are an overbalance both to the King and the Nobility, and Church, which is a defect in monarchy, and tends to the generation of a commonwealth. In France and Spain, the King and the Nobility have destroyed the People; but, in England, the King and the People have destroyed the Nobility. I say, then, the strength of the kingdom of England is in the inferior gentry and yeomanry; and these exceeding all other kingdoms in number, strength, and courage, it must needs follow, if the business should come to be tried, where blows must decide, that England would be found an over-match even to France itself, if demonstration be demonstration.

Both the cause and occasion how these two things come to be so, that is, why the Nobilities of England are so depressed and the People become so formidable, as you may see they are, if you look but upon the House of Lords and the House of Commons, in our present Parliaments; I say the cause is, those popular Statutes of Population against retainers of the Nobility, and for alienation of their lands, made by Henry VII. (the Romulus of the English kings), which shews the unwariness of that politic king, who, in seeking to cure that dangerous flaw in the government, of the Nobility being an overmatch to the Princes, made a far greater, that of making the Commons formidable. For the one strikes only at a King they dislike, the other at the Throne itself; altho' it be true these effects came not to manifest themselves till above one hundred years after his death. Therefore a wise Prince indeed he was, but not long-sighted.

To the second. The French have beaten and baffled the greatest part of the Christian world, without fighting, and have oppressed them at their own charge. But if ever they should come to deal with an enemy that would force them to fight, they would shew themselves to be Frenchmen, that

is, would suffer themselves to be persuaded to submit to more reasonable terms.

If you look upon the carriage of this whole war, you may see presently that the wisest thing which the French thought they could do, was ever to avoid fighting; supposing, surely, that therein they imitated the wisdom of Fabius Maximus. But this is most certain (as the discourses in Livy proves), that a general who desires to keep the field cannot avoid fighting when the enemy presses, and makes it his business to engage him. For, in such case, there are but one of three ways. The first is the way of Fabius, of standing upon your guard and keeping your army in places of advantage; and this is laudable and good when your army is so strong that the enemy dares not attack you, as it was in the case of Fabius and Hannibal: for, if Hannibal had advanced, Fabius would have kept his ground and engaged him. The second way to avoid fighting, if your enemy will needs attack you, is flying; and fight or fly you must. Philip of Macedon, being invaded by the Romans, resolved not to come to a battle, and, to avoid it, he took the way of Fabius—encamped his army on the top of a mountain, and intrenched

himself so strongly that he believed the Romans durst not have ventured to come at him. But, alas! the Romans were another kind of enemy; they not only adventured, but removed him from his mountain, forced him to fly with the greatest part of his army, and, had it not been for the unpassableness of the country, which hindered the pursuit, the Macedonians had all been cut off. The French were strongly encamped at St. Dennis, and did not at all believe that the Prince of Orange would attack them; and yet, for their confidence, they could find no other remedy than to betake themselves to their heels. And this was the greatest and most famous action of the whole war. The third way to avoid fighting is to shut yourself up in some strong town, which is the most pernicious way of all, as making your ruin inevitable. Therefore (as Machiavel says), to keep the field and avoid fighting, is to be done no way so securely as by keeping fifty miles off, and sending out store of spies and scouts, that may give you notice of the enemies' approach, and opportunity to retreat.

Nor is it necessary to do all this that your army should be very numerous. The Romans and the Greeks always carried on their wars with a few

men, depending more upon their good order and the excellence of their discipline than great numbers, but the eastern and western nations did all by their multitudes. Alexander conquered the world with thirty thousand. Pyrhus was wont to say that with 15,000 men he would go through the world. And yet Pyrhus fought against the Romans and beat them in two battles, and was in the judgment of Hannibal himself one of the greatest captains of the world. The ordinary Roman army consisted of about 24,000 men; and if they were at any time overpressed with numbers, they exceeded not 50,000, with which number at one time they opposed 200,000 Gauls, or, if you will, call them Frenchmen. There are two nations whose genius resembles that of the antient Romans, the Germans, and the English, who are descended from them. But there are these two differences between them. The Germans you shall never bring up to make a point-blank attack in the mouth of cannons in such fashion as the English; nor again after a rout shall you hardly make them rally again as the English. From all these things I make this conclusion, that if the French renew the war again, the best way will be to oppose them with an army of Eng-

lish, and by all means to force them to fight continually till the field be too hot for them; and when they can keep that no longer, their towns will be of little service to them. The English have fought many battles with the French, and always beaten them; and yet the French have exceeded them much in numbers, as in the memorable battle of Poictiers, where the English were but about 8000, and the French were 60,000.

And thus I come to the third and last part of my discourse, the office whereof is to dispose into method such arguments as will be necessary to be used to the several parties, that is to say, to the King, Parliament, and this State, to draw them on to such a league, and they are as follows.

TO THE KING.

1. It will serve to conciliate and beget a better understanding between him and the Parliament, and to remove some part of that jealousy which the people travail with of the King's administration, and which will never leave burning till it burn the foundation of the throne, if not prevented. And if it attain not the end of introducing other cooperative acts of concord, it will at least avert the

hastening on of greater evils. There be some of those things which the Parliament would have, which the King would consent to upon condition he might not be prest in the rest, as the case of the Duke of York, &c. Therefore let them begin with some great thing that might involve the interests and affections of all.

2. As to that point of confirmation by the Parliament, I have showed the precedents of former times.

3. The ratification here by the general estates will be equivalent to the ratification in England by the Parliament, which saves the King's honour. For thus the parties rather conspire in one how to render this league illustrious and great, than on their respective parts to be forced to any thing.

TO THE PARLIAMENT.

1. Let it move from themselves — that is, let some of those in the House of Commons, who are of unquestionable reputation for wisdom, honesty, and integrity, be engaged: let them engage others, and let them communicate with my Lord Shaftesbury, and that party in the House of Lords. Then let the scheme or project be pro-

posed in the House of Commons; then the Commons seek the Lords' concurrence, and then let it be offered to the King as the advice of the whole kingdom, for every man is there in person or by representation.

2. This will shut up those avenues, those back doors by which the French have had accesses to our councils, and have influenced them; and consequently will render the sitting of Parliament more calm and secure, when that mighty trade of theirs of buying prorogations shall be spoiled, and their factors rendered less malignant.

3. This is an infallible argument, as the end of a thing is, so is the thing. The two general ends of this league are, to preserve the Protestant religion, and to preserve and restore the balance of Europe by lessening the power of France. And these are the two greatest ends in Christendom, therefore that thing that has those for its ends is the greatest thing. And the minds of gallant men are exceedingly moved with great things, and strongly carried to the pursuit of them.

TO THIS STATE.

1. The first argument is prudential. Prudence is that virtue by which, when several things are

offered, we are directed which to chuse and which to refuse; what to do, and what not to do. Holland then must either make a league with France or with England, or remain neuter.

To make a league with France is utterly imprudent, for these two reasons.

1. Because France, aiming at and designing universal monarchy, would only secure himself of them till their own turn come, that is till he hath swallowed up the Spanish Netherlands and Germany, when he would turn his force upon them.

2. By such means they would lose their best and fastest friend they have had from the foundation of their state, and that is England. And where a state is not sufficient by its own proper force, in respect of the weaknesses of the same, or the mightiness of its neighbours, to defend itself, it must of necessity rely somewhere for protection.

To remain in a neutral condition cannot be, for so, instead of making one friend, they would make two enemies. And in case France should renew the war upon them, England would be won, upon such terms as France would offer, either to join with them or to stand still and see Holland ruined. Besides, how impolitic a thing neutrality is any

man may see that will consider the observations made thereon. Mach. Prince, Cap. 21.

It remains then, and I know nothing else that remains, to make a league with England. For that will have one of two effects. Either France will be wholly deterred from attempting upon their state, or if he does, they will be able, with the assistance of England, to defend themselves. This is the first argument.

2. The authority and reputation of the proposers. It is a league proposed by the Parliament of England, to be entered into with the King and kingdom of England. The parliament represents the whole people of England, and commands both the purses and persons of a great, rich, and valiant nation, from whom neither money nor soldiers will be wanting to beat down the power of that proud and insulting nation of France. But these people here are afraid of France. Why then let them make a league with those of whom France itself is afraid. And withall let them remember this league is to be made with a people from whom they have received the greatest benefits, as I have showed before. And this argument alone will beat down the most, if not all, the objections that would arise

against such a league proposed in any other manner.

3. The great reputation and security such a league will give to this state, which will cover them as with wings of protection against France, and whosoever else would prey upon them.

If I have not expressed these things so as I would, I have done it so well as I can in a short time; and so submitting it with all decent humility to the grave consideration of those excellent personages whom it may most concern, I leave it to its fate.

May 24th, 1680.

C.

THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND'S LETTER TO A FRIEND.

To comply with what you desire, I will explain some things which were talked of before I left England. I have been in a station of great noise, without power or advantage whilst I was in it, and to my ruin now I am out of it. I know I cannot justify myself by saying, though it is true, that I thought to have prevented much mischief; for, when first I found I could not, I ought to have quitted the service: neither is it an excuse that I

have got none of those things which usually engage men in public affairs. My quality is the same it ever was, and my estate much worse, even ruined, though I was born to a very considerable one, which I am ashamed to have spoiled, though not so much as if I had increased it by indirect means. But to go on to what you expect.

The pretence to a dispensing power being not only the first thing which was much disliked, since the death of the late King, but the foundation of all the rest, I ought to begin with that which I had so little to do with, that I never heard it spoke of, till the time of Monmouth's Rebellion. That the King told some of the Council, of which I was one, that he was resolved to give employments to R. Catholics; it being fit that all men should serve who could be useful, and on whom he might depend. I think every body advised him against it, but with little effect, as was soon seen. That party was so pleased with what the King had done, that they persuaded him to mention it in his speech at the next meeting of the Parliament, which he did, after many debates whether it was proper or not; in all which I opposed it, as is known to very considerable persons,

some of which were of another opinion. For I thought it would engage the King too far, and it did give such offence to the Parliament that it was thought necessary to prorogue it; after which the King fell immediately to the supporting the dispensing power, the most chimerical thing that ever was thought of, and must be so, till the Government here is as absolute as in Turkey, all power being included in that one. This is the sense I ever had of it; and, when I heard lawyers defend it, I never changed my opinion or language. However, it went on, most of the Judges being for it, and was the chief business of the State, till it was looked on as settled.

Then the Ecclesiastical Court was set up, in which, there being so many considerable men of several kinds, I could have but a small part, and that after lawyers had told the King it was legal, and nothing like the High Commission Court. I can most truly say, and it is well known, that for a good while I defended Magdalen College, purely by care and industry; and I have hundreds of times begged of the King never to grant mandamusses, or to change any thing in the regular course of Ecclesiastical affairs, which he often

thought reasonable; and then by perpetual importunity was prevailed upon, against his own sense, which was the very case of Magdalen College, as of some others. These things which I endeavoured, though without success, drew upon me the anger and ill-will of many about the King.

The next thing to be tried, was to take off the Penal Laws and the Tests. So many having promised their concurrence towards it, that his Majesty thought it feasible, but he soon found it was not to be done by that Parliament, which made all the Catholics desire it might be dissolved, which I was so much against that they complained of me to the King, as a man who ruined all his designs by opposing the only thing that could carry them on. Liberty of conscience being the only thing on which he was to build, that it was first offered at by the Lord Clifford, who by it had done the work even in the late King's time, if it had not been for his weakness and the weakness of his ministers. Yet I hindered the dissolution several weeks, by telling the King that the Parliament in being would do every thing he could desire but the taking off the Penal Laws and the Tests, or the allowing his dispensing power; and that any other Parliament,

though such a one could be had as was proposed, would probably never repeal those laws; and, if they did, they would certainly never do any thing for the support of the government, whatever exigency it might be in.

At that time the King of Spain was sick, upon which I said often to the King, that, if he should die, it would be impossible for his Majesty to preserve the peace of Christendom; that a war must be expected, and such a one as would chiefly concern England; that if the present Parliament continued, he might be sure of all the help and service he could wish; but, in case he dissolved it, he must give over all thoughts of foreign affairs, for no other ever would assist him but on such terms as would ruin the monarchy. So that from abroad, or at home, he would be destroyed, if the Parliament were broke, and any accident should happen, of which there were many, to make the aid of his people necessary to him. This and much more I said to him several times, privately and in the hearing of others; but, being overpowered, the Parliament was broke, the closeting went on, and a new one was to be chosen. Who was to get by closeting I need not say, but it was

certainly not I, nor any of my friends; many of them suffered whom I would fain have saved, and yet I must confess with grief, that when the King was resolved and there was no remedy, I did not quit as I ought to have done, but served on, in order to the calling another Parliament.

In the midst of all the preparations for it, and whilst the Corporations were regulating, the King thought fit to order his Declarations to be read in all the Churches, of which I most solemnly protest I never heard one word till the King directed it in Council. That drew on the petition of my Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, and of the other Lords the Bishops, and their prosecution, which I was so violently and so openly against, that by arguing continually to shew the injustice and the imprudence of it, I brought the fury of the Roman Catholics upon me to such a degree, and so unanimously, that I was just sinking, and I wish I had then sunk. But, whatever I did foolishly to preserve myself, I continued still to be the object of their hatred, and I resolved to serve the public as well as I could, which I am sure most of the considerable Protestants then at Court can testify, and so can one very eminent man of the country,

who I would have persuaded to come into business, which he might have done, to have helped me to resist the violence of those in power, but he despaired of being able to do any good, and would not engage.

Some time after came the first news of the Prince's designs, which were not then looked on, as they have proved; nobody foreseeing the miracles he has done by his wonderful prudence, conduct, and courage, for the greatest thing which has been undertaken these thousand years, or perhaps ever, could not be effected without virtues hardly to be imagined till seen nearer hand. Upon the first thought of his coming I laid hold of the opportunity to press the King to do several things which I would have had done sooner, the chief of which were to restore Magdalen College and all other ecclesiastical preferments which had been diverted from what they were intended for; to take off my Lord Bishop of London's suspension; to put the counties into the same hands they were in some time before; to annul the Ecclesiastical Court; and to restore entirely all the Corporations of England.

These things were done effectually by the help

of some about the King, and it was then thought I had destroyed myself by enraging again the whole Roman Catholic party to such a height as had not yet been seen. They dispersed libels of me every day, told the King that I betrayed him, that I ruined him by persuading him to make such shameful condescensions; but, most of all, by hindering the seizing of the chief of the disaffected nobility and gentry, which was proposed as a certain way to break all the Prince's measures, and by advising his Majesty to call a free Parliament, and to depend upon that, rather than upon foreign assistance, which was absolutely to ruin him. It is very true I did give him those counsels, which were called weak, to the last moment he suffered me in his service. Then I was accused of holding correspondence with the Prince; and it was every where said amongst them, that no better could be expected from a man so related as I was to the Bedford and Leycester families, and so allied to Duke Hamilton and the Marquis of Halifax.

After this, accusations of high treason were brought against me, which, with some other reasons relating to affairs abroad, drew the King's

displeasure upon me, so as to turn me out of all, without any consideration; and yet I thought I escaped well, expecting nothing less than the loss of my head, as my Lord Middleton can tell, and I believe none about the Court thought otherwise. Nor had it been otherwise, if my disgrace had been deferred a day longer, all things being prepared for it. I was put out the 27th of October, the Roman Catholics having been two months working the King up to it, without intermission, besides the several attacks they had made upon me before, and the unusual assistance they obtained to do what they thought necessary to carry on their affairs, of which they never had greater hope than at that time, as may be remembered by any who were then at London.

But you desired I would say something to you of Ireland, which I will do in very few words, but exactly true. My Lord Tyrconnell has been so absolute there that I never had the credit to make an ensign or to keep one in, nor to preserve some of my friends, for whom I was much concerned, from the last oppression and injustice, though I endeavoured it to the uttermost of my power: but yet, with care and diligence, being

upon the place, and he absent, I diverted the calling the Parliament there, which was designed to alter the Acts of Settlement. Chief Justice Nugent and Baron Rice were sent over with a draught of an Act for that purpose, furnished with all the pressing arguments could be thought on, to persuade the King; and I was offered forty thousand pounds for my concurrence, which I told to the King, and shewed him at the same time the injustice of what was proposed to him, and the prejudice it would be to him, with so good success, that he resolved not to think of it that year, and perhaps never. This I was helped in by some friends, particularly my Lord Godolphin, who knows this to be true, and so do the judges before named, and several others.

I cannot omit saying something of France, there having been so much talk of a League between the two Kings: I do protest that I never knew of any. Last summer, indeed, French ships were offered to join with ours, and they were refused. Since the noise of the Prince's designs, more ships were offered, and it was agreed how they should be commanded, if ever desired. I opposed to death the accepting of them, as well

as of any assistance of these, and can say most truly, that I was the principal means of hindering both, by the help of some Lords, with whom I consulted every day, and they with me, to prevent what we thought would be of great prejudice, if not ruinous to the nation. If the report is true of these ships, and money intended lately for England out of France, it was agreed upon since I was out of business, or without my knowledge. If it had been otherwise, I believe, nobody thinks my disgrace would have happened. My greatest misfortune has been to be thought the promoter of things I opposed and detested, whilst some I could name have been the inventors and contrivers of what they have had the art to lay upon others; and I was often foolishly willing to hear what my master would have done, though I used all possible endeavours against it.

I lie under many other misfortunes and afflictions extremely heavy: but I hope they have brought me to reflect on the occasion of them; the loose, negligent, unthinking life I have hitherto led; having been perpetually hurried away from all good thoughts, by pleasure, idle-

ness, the vanities of the court, or by business. I hope, I say, that I shall overcome all the disorders my former life had brought upon me; and that I shall spend the remaining part of it in begging of Almighty God that he will please either to put an end to my sufferings, or give me strength to bear them, one of which he will certainly grant to such as rely on him, which I hope I do, with the submission that becomes a good Christian.

I would enlarge on this subject, but that I fear you might think something else to be the reason of it, besides a true sense of my faults, and that obliges me to refrain myself at present. I believe you will repent the having engaged me in giving you this account, but I cannot help the doing what you desire of me.

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